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**SPACE, ITS CONSTRUCTION AND USES: ST
GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, IN THE LATE
MIDDLE AGES**

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ABSTRACT

SPACE, ITS CONSTRUCTION AND USES: ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

This thesis explores the construction and experience of space in the Royal Chapel of St George at Windsor by questioning how sacred spaces were used, perceived, understood and moulded by late medieval individuals ranging in social status from kings to pilgrims. The new Chapel of St George's, commenced by Edward IV in 1475, was designed as a single entity from the outset and the first stage of building was completed rapidly in the 1470s and 1480s. It is therefore unique in encoding a single vision of sacred space formulated by the apex of late medieval English society, the king himself. The second phase of building, funded by Henry VII's courtier, Sir Reynold Bray, in the early sixteenth century, placed new visual demands on the integrity of Edward IV's space. A study of the foundation therefore allows me to explore the sophisticated, but changing, understanding the elite had of sacred space in the closing decades of the fifteenth century.

The building, however, was used by individuals from very different social groups, whose sensitivity to the visual may have developed at different rates. By exploring these users – king and courtiers, Garter Knights, college canons and lay pilgrims – across a wider chronological period, this study considers the relationship individuals forged with sacred spaces. Worked examples suggest that these were affected by whether the context in which they experienced the chapel was an ordinary or ceremonial one. I argue that to understand why the foundation looks the way it does, we need to take a more wholesale, holistic understanding of the function and representation of space in other artistic and intellectual realms, both English and foreign. By integrating a study of alternative visual forms, such as manuscript illumination, music and costume, this work explores the extent to which patrons of other art-forms brought the experience of their ideas and discoveries to bear on the space of the chapel. Relating these to the annual liturgical and ceremonial activities in the building permits a fuller appreciation of the intricate relationships between visual form and function forged in this chapel.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CChR	Calendar of Charter Rolls
CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls
CPL	Calendar of Papal Letters
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
DNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
EHD	English Historical Documents
VCH	Victoria Histories for the Counties of England
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments

INTRODUCTION

SACRED SPACE: CREATION AND PERCEPTION

St George's Chapel has been the subject of many studies, ranging in date and scope from St John Hope's comprehensive *Architectural History*,¹ in 1913, to the most recent volume concerned with the stained glass in the chapel.² While this thesis gratefully uses the evidence uncovered for the appearance of the foundation by a century of research, its focus of interest is quite different. It is neither an architectural study of the building, nor a close scrutiny of iconographical evidence therein. Instead, this thesis privileges the construction and experience of space as a line of enquiry. Through this, I will seek to question how sacred spaces were used, perceived, understood and moulded by individuals ranging in social status from kings to leprous lay pilgrims.

"Fast becoming one of the major areas of study in late medieval and early modern religion,"³ the field of sacred space is attracting the attention of historians interested in expanding the confines of their discipline by taking a more interdisciplinary approach. The last decade particularly has witnessed a growth of interest in the function and appearance of sacred spaces. Attracted by the potential to study the interaction of differing social groups engaging in the shared activity of late medieval worship, much of this recent work has focussed on understanding the holy within parish churches.⁴ This has perhaps gone some way towards satisfying Paul Binski's 1999 charge that a potential "field of enquiry quite as rich...as English parish churches" is not being paid the attention it deserves.⁵ This increasing focus on the parish context of sacred space has explored the reasons underlying the existing appearance of form and image, within defined architectural structures. But it has also called for an appreciation of the absence of form, requiring that as interpreters of the past, we are sensitive to how *both* open space and boundaries have historically defined the use of, and activities within, sacred spaces. Clearly "usage" is not a static entity, but is a fluid structure, changing over time and according to context. Such an approach therefore calls for a willingness to look at late medieval foundations with eyes sensitive to the permanent and

¹ W. St John Hope, *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History* 3 vols. (London, 1913).

² S. Brown (ed.), *The Stained Glass of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle* (Windsor, 2005).

³ A. Spicer, "Dimensions of Sacred Space" in W. Coster and A. Spicer (ed.) *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 1.

⁴ *Defining the Holy* conference at Exeter University, 2003. S. Hamilton and A. Spicer (ed.) *Defining the Holy* (Aldershot, 2005). *Making the Church Holy* conference at Oxford Brookes University, 2005.

⁵ P. Binski, "The English Parish Church and Its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem" in *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999), p. 1.

fleeting moments of religious worship and willing to gauge the degree of change in form and function evident within the surviving structures of many late medieval buildings.

Much recent work has sought to understand the essential elements of sacred space by constructing hypothetical bipolarities, and exploring the extent to which the space under consideration approximated to such models. Thus an analysis of sacred space may seek to analyse the churchyard within the landscape, the church within the churchyard, the chapel within the church or the altar within the chapel: each realm successively smaller, and by gradation, more holy.⁶ There is much to be said for this kind of study, for it facilitates an appreciation of the nuanced relationship between the appearance and usage of individual foundations, while offering the potential to elicit generalisations about the essential elements of sacred space, and the potential 'form' offered to delineate boundaries. For example, a study of chantry chapels reminds us that spaces reflected the relations between individuals and groups, as those with means sought to carve out for themselves a personal, intimate space within the overarching sanctity of the church itself. Chantries also structured the relationships between the living and the dead.⁷ Within the parish context, the annual recitation of the bede roll, or the recitation of obits reflected the importance of a parish community of living and dead. The door of the church into the cemetery defined the realms of living and dead, and the living were encouraged to remember the dead through the growing use of inscriptions added to funeral sculpture and monumental brasses, increasingly patronised within many churches throughout the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

These relationships were articulated across sacred time as well as in sacred space. Overlapping the linear notion of time which underpinned Christian thought, were repetitive, cyclical elements: the natural changing of the seasons and planetary movements, and the liturgical cycle of the canonical year and day. When seeking to establish a basis for the counting of linear time, Christians came to focus on the Redemption as the point where history divided between the sacred and the profane.⁸ Architectural analogies between the division of time into Christian and pre-Christian periods can be found at the boundary between sacred and profane marked by the church door, or churchyard gate. Similarly, the linear understanding of time as leading towards some future promised salvation reflects the social divisions apparent in a building where people moved through the space from west to east, the nave predominantly used by the laity, and the more sacred, east end chancel reserved to ecclesiastics, or those higher up the social scale. The seasonal integration and sanctification

⁶ Spicer, "Dimensions," p. 9.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ A. Higgins, "Medieval notions of the structure of time" in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 19 (1989), p. 238.

of different areas of a building by the censuring and washing of altars with holy water, the ringing of bells, and the lighting of candles before a particular saint, imposed a sensory experience of cyclical canonical time onto the underlying linear dynamic.

In seeking to understand what makes a space holy, and why churches look the way they do, these methods of interpretation may equally be applied to St George's Chapel, Windsor. Like parish churches, the walls of this foundation marked the division of the sacred from the profane. Within the chapel, as one moved through the building, one passed through zones on which differing degrees of sanctity were conferred. How was this experienced by the individual? What did people see and hear and in what order? The new foundation, constructed by Edward IV after 1475, took many years to complete, and the appearance of the final structure thus diverged significantly from that which may have been originally intended. As a foundation intended to be used by the king, the Knights of the Garter and the canons of the College of St George, did the foundation reflect the social interaction of these three groups of individuals? The chapel was designed to house relics, but was this primarily to attract pilgrims, or were these put on display first and foremost to demonstrate that this was a sacred space? Do we also see a similar division of space by the use of gates and screens as that Peter Draper has identified in late medieval cathedrals?⁹ And what of the relationship between the living and the dead in this foundation, which may itself have been conceived as a giant chantry chapel for Edward IV himself? The historians of the parish and cathedral church have certainly identified themes which provide a pertinent starting point for a study of this unique foundation.

However, it is the individuality of St George's which exposes the limitations of the parish model of explaining sacred space. As a royal foundation, designed as a single entity from the outset, this building is unique in encoding a particular vision of sacred space formulated by the apex of late medieval English society, the king himself. It represents less, therefore, an emerging resolution to the conflicting demands placed on sacred space by differentiated social groups, and far more an articulated response encapsulating the understanding the elite had of sacred space in the closing decades of the fifteenth century. As there were a variety of visual sources available to individuals who could afford travel, multiple patronage projects, and consumption of many different artistic idioms (manuscript, glass, architecture, costume, music), in order to understand the conception of space in St George's we need to develop a more wholesale, holistic understanding of the function and

⁹ P. Draper, "Enclosures and Entrances in Medieval Cathedrals: Access and Security" in J. Backhouse (ed.), *The Medieval English Cathedral: Papers in Honour of Pamela Tudor Craig* (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2003).

representation of space in other artistic and intellectual realms, both English and foreign. We should appreciate that a building such as St George's was constructed specifically to appeal to the sophisticated, roving eye, visually educated in sacred contexts which were not simply architectural. In order to do this, we therefore need to study the patrons of alternative visual forms, who as users of the space, brought the experience of their ideas and discoveries to bear on the space of the chapel.

By thinking about how St George's Chapel functioned for an "audience", as opposed to how it fitted in with a narrative of stylistic, architectural development, I will challenge the tendency to differentiate between the parish church, and grander foundations. Instead I will argue that lessons about seeing and being seen, learned in one environment, could be applied to alternative contexts, acknowledging the fluidity of experience as individuals moved from larger to smaller foundations. This thesis will argue that St George's, like many other churches, contained distinct zones, at times rigid and sometimes overlapping, which denoted social and religious privilege and hierarchy. It will suggest that behaviour helped to define sacred space,¹⁰ thus seeking to explore issues of access and separation by studying clearly defined groups who interacted with the building; the king (Chapter 1), his courtiers (Chapter 2), the Knights of the Garter (Chapter 3), and the college canons and pilgrims (Chapter 4). It will argue that time, occasion and social hierarchy influenced the way the space was viewed by studying how individuals of differing social rank used the space in the ceremonial contexts the building was designed to accommodate. I will show that particularly on these occasions, the relationships forged between the location of chantry chapels, screens, iconographical and heraldic adornment and the ephemera of costume, music, and floral embellishment, could multiply and become more complex.

This work also emphasises patronage as a driving force behind changes brought to bear on sacred space. The intentions Edward IV had for the space, and the success of his vision, are central to my line of enquiry. However, I will suggest that we should relate real, architectural, sacred spaces to the artificial spaces other individuals commissioned in manuscripts and music, suggesting that we should look for congruities between real spaces and the personal, imaginary spaces they came to demand from their two-dimensional visual prompts. This allows for a deepening realization of how social hierarchy affected understanding and usage of sacred time and space. Sensitivity to the visual filtered into different classes of evidence at different rates; thus some chronological flexibility is necessary. In addressing these questions, this thesis will interpret ideas about the use of

¹⁰ Spicer, "Defining the Holy", p. 4.

sacred space at St George's in the context of two distinct architectural foundations. The first is the old Chapel of Our Lady, St George, and St Edward, built by Henry III in the thirteenth century, and adapted by Edward III in the fourteenth. The second is the new chapel, begun by Edward IV in the 1470s and finished by Sir Reynold Bray in the early sixteenth century. However, in looking for evidence that helps to explain why Edward IV's foundation took the form that it did, of necessity this thesis ranges in chronological scope from Edward III to Henry VIII.

Lost Space? The Old Chapel of St George at Windsor.

In order to ascertain Edward IV's original aspirations in commissioning the building, the inadequacies of the structure it replaced should firstly be reviewed. **Plan 1**¹¹ The old chapel was begun by Henry III c.1240 and partly remodelled by Edward III between 1350 and 1353 in order to house the newly formed College of St George and the Order of the Garter.¹² From calculations based on the position of the west door and north wall of Henry III's chapel, Kidson has suggested it was approximately 36 feet by 75 feet, the greater space forming the choir.¹³ The small chapel had been vaulted in the mid-thirteenth century "with a high wooden roof... [that may] appear to be stonework... and to be covered with lead."¹⁴ Work undertaken by Edward III between 1350 and 1353 left the basic structure intact, being confined to repairing the roof, providing new choir stalls for the newly formed College of St George, and preparing new windows of painted glass.¹⁵ The high altar was dedicated to Our Lady, St George and St Edward, (1) and on this altar was placed, after 1367, a great alabaster reredos.¹⁶ This must have been a structure of some size, as a record dealing with its transport from Nottingham indicates that it required ten carts, each with eight horses to move it.¹⁷ The altarpiece itself cost £200, was sometimes covered with a cloth and may have had doors which offered protection for relics stored within, as suggested by the description of jewels and

¹¹ Numbers in brackets refer to those on Plan I. Plan one and two are schematic suggestions of the overall arrangement included to help orientate the reader. They are not scale drawings or accurate representations.

¹² St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 374. J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context* (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 76-91 for Edward's foundation of the Order of the Garter.

¹³ P. Kidson, "The Architecture of Saint George's Chapel" in M. Bond (ed.), *The Saint George's Chapel Quincentenary Handbook* (Windsor, 1975), p. 31. He notes too the correlation of these measurements with the choir of Westminster Abbey.

¹⁴ CCR: 1242-7, p. 39.

¹⁵ H. M. Colvin, *History of the Kings' Works: The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), vol. ii., p. 873.

¹⁶ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 374.

¹⁷ F. Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters. With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1984), p. 16.

relics in the inventory as being “*infra Tabulam summi altaris*”.¹⁸ Sadly it no longer survives, but it may have been comparable with the Neville Screen at Durham, in place by 1380, which comprised a series of canopied niches containing central statues portraying the Virgin flanked by St Cuthbert and St Oswald, and other painted and gilt alabaster figures.¹⁹ **III. 1** Doors in the Durham screen were to allow circumnambulation of the high altar as prescribed in Sarum Use.²⁰ At Windsor, there was apparently a private altar behind the high altar, suggesting a similar arrangement may have operated there.²¹ **(2)**

A shelf was set up in 1429 behind the altar for the display of jewels on special occasions.²² Flanking the altar were two great images, one of Our Lady, which was of silver gilt and had been given by Henry III in 1240-1 and the other of St George.**(3)** This was probably a wooden image covered with armour.²³ On the north side of the choir there may have been an additional altar, as the inventory of 1384-5 describes a copper gilt reredos showing the martyrdom of St George “placed on the small altar on the north side, opposite to the high altar”.²⁴ **(4)** There may also have been an Easter Sepulchre on this side of the choir.²⁵ **(5)** The choir was furnished with stalls; in front were benches covered by cloths, and desks for the chanters.²⁶ Hope suggests that the queen’s pew was on the south side.²⁷ **(6)** A candelabrum hung before the high altar **(7)** and another light in a bason was suspended in the middle of the choir.²⁸ **(8)** A pulpitum with a stair leading up to the rood-loft was at the west end of the choir. In the loft there was a desk from which the Epistle and Gospel were sung on Sundays and festivals, and probably the organs. **(9)** There was also an altar.²⁹ The division left a small ante-chapel to the west of the choir, **(10)** in which were placed two altars, possibly

¹⁸ M. Bond, *The Inventories of St George’s Chapel* (Windsor, 1947), p. 50. St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 395, n. 1-3 prints the information from the treasurers’ and precentors’ accounts relating to the alabaster.

¹⁹ C. Wilson, “The Neville Screen” in N. Coldstream and P. Draper (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1977 (Leeds, 1980), p. 90. Wilson also considers the relationship of this screen to other screens which would have been known by royal patrons, such as the one in St Faith’s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, p. 93. The sculpted figures no longer survive.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 95.

²¹ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 45. Cheetham has explored the likely relationship between the Durham and Windsor examples, *English Medieval Alabasters*, p. 21.

²² St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 374.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ Bond, *Inventories*, pp. 58-59.

²⁵ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 374. Hope records a payment from the treasurer’s Accounts for 1387-8 “pro reparacione duorum angelorum super sepulchrum”. This may not, however, have been a permanent structure.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. i., p. 138 and p. 169, n. 56. “tam super operibus eiusdem chori quam super quodam stagio pro Regina ad finem stallorum predictorum”.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 375.

²⁹ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 45.

either side of the door to the choir. (11) One of these was the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and the other the “second altar”.³⁰

It seems therefore, that the old Chapel of Our Lady, St George and St Edward, had at least five altars, although dedications can only be ascertained for two of them – that of the Virgin outside the choir, and the high altar dedicated to the Virgin, St George and St Edward. The reliquary of St George on the north altar may provide a clue to the dedication of this altar.³¹ Either of the two remaining altars – that in the rood-loft or that outside the choir – may have been dedicated to St Edward. The provision of several altars, with different dedications, and the likely presence of an Easter Sepulchre, suggests that perambulation through the physical space of the building was an important concern. Records indicate that rituals such as the procession of relics and special Easter ceremonies took place annually at St George’s. In some years, for example, the precentors’ accounts indicate that the Easter Sepulchre was put together with nails, tack and thread and that a Lenten hearse was created from a framework of wood and iron.³² These features suggest that the chapel allowed for a reasonably full realization of the dramatic potentials of late medieval worship.

The small chapel, however, appears to have lacked aisles and therefore offered limited opportunities for a monarch interested in maximising the viewing opportunities of processions. Certainly the old Chapel of St George was used for courtly processions by the Knights of the Garter and for ordinary daily religious observance by the canons of the college. There is evidence to suggest, however, that it was also intended to attract lay pilgrims. For a chapel as rich in relics as St George’s, offerings of the faithful provided steady revenue. Foremost among the treasures of the chapel was the Cross Gneth. In some of the early accounts, the receipts of all oblations were entered as *oblaciones capelle de croisnet*.³³ In 1354 Innocent VI granted an indulgence of two years and eighty days to penitents visiting the chapel on the principal feasts and on those of St George, the Exaltation of the Cross, St Stephen and St Edward to witness the relic of the True Cross, suggesting pilgrims did visit the old chapel.³⁴ Clearly too, thought *was* given to the display of visual forms – the shelf set up

³⁰ Hope, *Windsor Castle*, p. 375.

³¹ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 59. This is described as “One wooden Table standing on the small altar on the North side; opposite to the High Altar, with plates and copper-gilt figures, containing the martyrdom of Saint George”.

³² St George’s Chapel Archives, XV.56.22. P. Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, 1987) describes the role of the Sepulchre in the Easter liturgy.

³³ A. Roberts, *St George’s Chapel 1348-1416: A Study in Early Collegiate Administration* (Windsor, 1947), p. 46.

³⁴ *CPL 1343-1362*, p. 523. At St Stephen’s Chapel, indulgences may also have been intended to attract the offerings of the faithful. An image of the Virgin in the chapel of “St Mary in the Pew” may have been the central object of veneration. She was associated with miracles, but pilgrims may also have

behind the altar suggests that viewing was important. However, the potential for constructing a visually sophisticated system of looking, one which allowed the successive unfolding of a series of visual encounters, may have been hindered by the two-dimensional nature of the structure. In the absence of aisles surrounding the choir, the possibility of enhancing emotional interaction with the visual by relaying it through a series of barriers which allowed different people a varying degree of engagement with visual forms – a layman a glimpse from afar of the relics housed in the high-altar tabernacle, for example, whereas a royal or collegiate officer might contemplate openly – made for an outdated system of placement of the visual within a sacred space. In addition, the possibility of exploiting the building as a location for elaborate tombs was denied.

Updating Sacred Space: The New Chapel of St George.

Edward IV's decision to build a substantially larger building should be considered against the shortcomings of its predecessor as a space well suited to different ordinary and ceremonial contexts. He appears to have decided in favour of a new chapel in 1473, when he instructed Richard Beauchamp, the bishop of Salisbury, to choose bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters and masons to work at Windsor.³⁵ Construction, however, was not begun until 1475.³⁶ By Edward's death in 1483, the choir was most likely completed and furnished with elaborate choir stalls, but was covered probably by a wooden, temporary roof and screened from the incomplete west end of the church by a temporary partition.³⁷ The contract for the creation of the permanent vault, made between the dean and canons of St George and the Knights of the Garter on the one part, and John Aylmer and William Vertue on the other, indicates that this was completed between 1506 and 1509.³⁸ Given the speed with which the majority of the east end was constructed, it is likely that the features of this part of the building approximate most closely to the patron's original intentions.

In 1493-4 Henry VII's attention turned to the possible location of his own tomb, and he quickly settled on the opportunity to demolish the surviving chapel of Edward III, now to

been attracted to the chapel by the singular indulgence "de scala coeli". M. Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel and its Place of the Development of Perpendicular Style in England* (Cambridge, 1955), p. 111.

³⁵ *CPR 1467-1477*, p. 368.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 535.

³⁷ T. Tatton-Brown, "The Constructional Sequence and Topography of the Chapel and College Buildings at St George's" in C. Richmond and E. Scarff (ed.), *St George's Chapel Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages* (Windsor, 2001), pp. 14-15.

³⁸ The contract is printed in St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., pp. 460-461.

the east end of the new chapel, and construct a fine new Lady Chapel. It is likely that work on this structure was nearing completion in 1498.³⁹ At that point work on the main body of the building, now focussing on the west end, began again after a lapse of nearly twenty years, and was completed by 1506, with the vaulting of the nave.

The new chapel consists of a presbytery and a choir of seven bays, with aisles extending one bay to the north and south of the presbytery, connected by an ambulatory, as shown in **Plan 2**. The west end is an aisled nave of seven bays, with a polygonal chapel projecting from the last bay of each aisle. The easternmost bay of the south aisle of the presbytery also has a polygonal chapel projecting southwards from it, but the corresponding bay of the north aisle has beyond it a rectangular vestry. It is a much larger building than the earlier chapel, and a more visually sophisticated structure. Particularly in the east end, niches, tombs, gates and squint holes are utilised for full effect as components in a tour of visual discoveries by visitors and pilgrims.

When construction commenced on the walls themselves, probably in the spring of 1477, it is likely that a low wall was built all the way round the whole chapel as far as the north and south ends of the sixth bay of the nave, where there is still a clear bonding break with the north west and south west chapels.⁴⁰ The external appearance of the chapel is plain and dignified. The aisle windows are of three tiers with two pairs of cusped lights. Above the windows is a moulded cornice, with sculptured devices at intervals, supporting a battled parapet of open tracery. **III. 2** The bays are divided by flying buttresses and punctuated with clerestory windows with two tiers of double pairs of cusped lights. In the choir these are under heads which are fully pointed, but in the transepts and nave they are four centred and consequently not so tall. In five places on the outside of the chapel, namely on the end wall of each transept, and in the middle bays of the south quire aisle, and of the nave aisles, there is carved in high relief below the windows a large rose upon a square of sunbeams, with a crown over it. **III. 3** A sixth device was outside the east end of the south aisle of the presbytery, but has been chiselled off to make way for a drainpipe. These are the badges of Edward IV, but at the centre of each rose is a small cross, which St John Hope suggested were probably intended to be consecration crosses.⁴¹ Although carved consecration crosses on the outside of buildings were rare in England, Tim Tatton-Brown has observed that they are found at Salisbury Cathedral and at two parish churches in the Salisbury diocese, namely Edington and

³⁹ Tatton-Brown, "Constructional Sequence", p. 16.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 9 and personal inspection.

⁴¹ M. Bond, "The crucifix badges of St George's Chapel" in *Report of the Society of the Friends of St George's* (1954), pp. 8-15. Tatton-Brown, "Constructional Sequence" pp. 9-13. Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 408.

Uffington, and they are therefore likely to have been known to Richard Beauchamp, as bishop of Salisbury.⁴² The existence of these crosses suggests that a consecration ceremony was planned for the building. The premature deaths of Edward IV (1483) and Richard Beauchamp (1481) may have resulted in the ceremony not taking place: no consecration ceremony is documented and the absence of holes below the roses to fix sconces for candles on the dedication day suggests the chapel was not formally consecrated. Although logically preferable, clearly this did not hinder the bestowing of sacredness on the building, suggesting that the ritual separation of sacred inside from profane outside was a desirable, rather than essential, component in the creation of sacred space.

There is no churchyard at Windsor; instead the chapel sits within the castle walls and grounds. Thus the walls of the building itself mark the junction with the profane world. Although most of the gargoyles on the outside of the chapel are modern reconstructions, undertaken partly during the restoration project of the 1880s and latterly during the restorations undertaken in the 1920s and 30s, there is evidence that gargoyles did feature on the original building. The final stage of the building of the chapel, the central crossing of the vault, was finished by 1528, so we may presume that by this date the gargoyles were in position: unfortunately, the accounts for carving them have not survived. However, the nineteenth century restoration reports describe “grotesque masks that require reconstruction.”⁴³ They also indicate that these should be replaced with “carved grotesques properly modelled from ancient examples” although this may not mean exact replications of the examples known at Windsor, which by this date may well have been worn and unrecognisable. Michael Camille has observed that our modern notion of the separateness of sacred and profane has blinded us to seeing the worldliness of the medieval cathedral.⁴⁴ It is not possible to provide a single iconographic explanation for the existence of such monsters, demons and distorted human shapes, but it is significant that many of these images could not, and would not be seen by the users of the buildings they adorned. This invisibility therefore suggests an underlying higher purpose. This was perhaps the desire to differentiate space and form for the eyes of God himself.⁴⁵ Although, therefore, the chapel may not have been formally separated from the outside world by a consecration ceremony, visual anchors were put in place to symbolically define the realms of the sacred and the worldly.

⁴² Tatton Brown, “Constructional Sequence,” p. 9. T. Tatton Brown, “The Salisbury Cathedral Consecration Crosses” in *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 16 (1998).

⁴³ S. Bond, “The Gargoyles of St George’s Chapel, Windsor” in *Report of the Friends of the Society of St George* (1956), p. 14.

⁴⁴ M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992), p. 81 and p. 90. He suggests images of gargoyles run parallel to a trend which identified such primordial beasts as a reflection of perversity within oneself.

⁴⁵ J. Rebold-Benton, *Holy Terrors: Gargoyles on Medieval Buildings* (New York, 1997), pp. 39-40.

Prior to the completion of the nave, entry into the chapel may have been through the east end door, which had formed the west entrance to Henry III's chapel. **Plan 1, (11) Plan 2, (23)** ⁴⁶ That this door was left in place when the new chapel was constructed is interesting. Obviously, it formed a functional entry-link between the old chapel (which would later become the Lady Chapel), and the new building, but additionally it may indicate a conscious desire to anchor Edward IV's building visually as a direct successor to that founded by Henry III. It may also suggest that the master mason, Henry Janyns, was sensitive to the extraordinary quality of this door, with its thirteenth-century scrolled ironwork, stamped with the name "Gilebertus" – possibly that of the designer responsible.⁴⁷ **III. 4** North of this is an entry into the building from Henry III's cloister. **(22)** Located between these two doors is a niche.⁴⁸ **(30)** St John Hope records that in 1913, the remains of a painting were discovered at the back, and suggests that it probably held an image of some sort.⁴⁹ As there is no evidence for other niches existing in the ambulatory I suggest it may have housed an image of Our Lady. In his *Book of Martyrs* Foxe, citing "Testwood", one of four Windsor Martyrs, records how he found "pilgrims licking and kissing a white Lady made of alabaster, which image was mortified in a wall behind the high altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging apples and flowers".⁵⁰ The traces of paint may have been the remains of this painted border and the prime location of this niche, between two entry doors, would have been a fitting place for a visually key figure such as a revered image of the Virgin.

North of this niche is the chapter house which was used during important ceremonial processions such as the funeral of Edward IV in 1483.⁵¹ **(21)** Looking westwards, one has a view along the north choir aisle. Here the vault is low, having been constructed under the two-tiered structure Edward IV stipulated should form his funerary monument.⁵² **(31)** The tomb stone directed in Edward's will to stand in the north choir aisle, on which would be carved a "figure of Dethe", may never have been constructed.⁵³ Instead, a plain-black

⁴⁶ Hereafter numbers in brackets refer to Plan 2. The evidence for the appearance of this structure is based on Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vols. i. and ii., personal inspection, the chapel inventories, and other sources where indicated.

⁴⁷ J. Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (London, 1999), p. 157.

⁴⁸ The niche is 52.5 cm wide, 17.5 cm deep and about 210 cm high.

⁴⁹ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol.ii., p. 417.

⁵⁰ A. Clarke (ed.), *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (London, 1888), p. 262.

⁵¹ See below, Chapter One.

⁵² The evidence for this monument has recently been reconsidered by A. Fehrman, "The Chantry Chapel of King Edward IV" in L. Keen and E. Scarff (ed.), *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XXV (Leeds, 2002), pp. 177-191.

⁵³ See below, Chapter One.

touchstone gravestone may have marked his burial site, on the south side of the first bay of the aisle. **(20)** Above hung the coat of mail, sword and helmet, offered at his funeral.⁵⁴

Somewhere close to the tomb stood an altar at which two priests were to say chantry masses for Edward IV's soul, possibly in the second bay of the aisle. **(32)** The 1501 inventories indicate that the altar was covered with a black altar-cloth decorated with a single white rose and that two black and gold ornaments were provided for it.⁵⁵ Edward IV also bequeathed two robes for the chantry priests, one of blue velvet, and another black one decorated with a golden eagle.⁵⁶ Ashmole describes the most visually striking feature of the monument – the wrought iron-gates patterned with the motif of delicate traceried windows – as having separated Edward's tomb from the north choir aisle.⁵⁷ **III. 5** It is likely that these stood shielding the tomb from the aisle, although it is also possible that these gates may have stood across the north choir aisle, west of Edward's tomb.⁵⁸

While all aspects of the original appearance of the structure may not be established for certain, several features indicate a paramount concern in the design was the potential it offered for attracting and impressing different viewers. People with access to the enclosed space were those concerned with the care of Edward's soul – his chantry priests. Others were invited to look and remember the Yorkist founder of the chapel, but were prevented from physical engagement with the tomb by the impressively gilded gates. Had the cadaver tomb specified in Edward's will been completed, then the juxtaposition between the gilt splendour and the morbid skeletal figure would have made an arresting series of visual contrasts, heightening the sensory experience of viewing the tomb. Extraneous decoration around the tomb refers to Edward himself. Roof bosses in the aisle vault bear the sunbeam emblem of Edward IV and a shield of his arms supported by two lions, stamping Edward's imprint on the surrounding area.

Niches in the first bay of the north aisle on both the north and south sides correspond to niches in the south aisle. **(33, 34, 35 and 36)** The symmetrical arrangement of these four niches suggests that they formed part of the original plan for the east end. Those near to Edward's tomb in the north aisle are now empty, but both appear to have carried heraldic

⁵⁴ These are described by E. Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter; and a Brief Account of all other Military Orders of Knighthood in England, Scotland, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Swedeland, Denmark and c. With the Ensigns of the several Orders* (London, 1693), p. 149. They hung there until 1642 when they were removed by parliamentary officers.

⁵⁵ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 157.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 157.

⁵⁷ Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, p. 149.

⁵⁸ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 419.

decoration featuring shields or badges on wooden panelling.⁵⁹ Possibly they contained sculpted images donated by particular individuals, who would have taken the opportunity to display their coats of arms in the visually important proximity to Edward's tomb.

Above the ambulatory bay, and over the first two bays of the north aisle, is the upper chapel of Edward's two-tiered funerary monument. There is no evidence that the tomb, decorated with a silver-gilt effigy, which should have stood in the middle of the small chapel, was constructed. This was reached from a door in the north choir aisle beneath a window of the third bay (38) – a squint hole in the doorway, covered by an ornamental grill allowed controlled access. **III. 6** Three windows in the chantry chapel offered a range of views over the main chapel below. A small oriel window of four lights in its westernmost end allowed the viewer to look down into the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh bays of the north choir aisle. **III. 7** Shortly after Edward IV's death, visitors would have been able to witness the construction of the less-elaborate chantry chapel of Edward's chamberlain, William Hastings.⁶⁰ (25) This was a chantry of the "stone cage" variety, fitted into an aisle bay north of the choir. **III. 8** For an individual looking at this chantry from aisle level, similar 'rules' governing the process of selective seeing, which informed the design of Edward IV's monument, were also utilised. The chantry was decorated with painted scenes from the life of St Stephen, and had an altar at the east end above which was probably fixed a reredos,⁶¹ but the viewer interested in peering through the small windows in the oak door would have only been able to see limited details of the colourful internal decorative scheme. The Chapel of St George owned a relic of St Stephen's – one of the stones of his martyrdom – which may explain why the scene showing the stoning is directly opposite the doorway entering the chantry. An onlooker would have been able to see none of the painted heraldic devices that decorated the north wall of the chapel. However, the Hastings coat of arms and crest, *a black bull's head within a crown*, adorn the outside of the structure, stamping his ownership clearly on the chapel for both the viewer from the aisle, and the viewer from Edward IV's closet.

Two larger oriel windows in Edward's closet gave a view over the choir itself. **III. 9** The easternmost of these was replaced during the reign of Henry VIII with a wooden structure, projecting further outwards into the choir, allowing a superior view. A recent suggestion that the closet was intended to function as a chamber for the queen and her ladies,

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 418.

⁶⁰ S. Ollard, "Chapels and Chantries in St George's Chapel" in *Report of the Friends of the Society of St George* (1941), p. 7 considers the evidence for the construction of this chantry. Hastings was beheaded shortly after the accession of Richard III in 1483.

⁶¹ St John Hope mentions the existence of tacks and pin holes over the altar, probably for fixing a table or reredos, *Windsor Castle*, vol.ii., p. 420.

allowing them to watch the Garter ceremonies in the choir in addition to being a private oratory for the king to hear mass in the chapel, is a convincing one.⁶² From the oriel windows, the high altar, the stalls on the south side of the choir, and the king's returned stall at the west end would have been visible. The stalls on the north side of the choir would have been partially obstructed from sight by the angle of the windows.⁶³ Viewing from this position, however, would have been confined to a privileged few. For others, glimpses of the choir would only have been possible through the wrought-iron screens linking the third bay of the choir with the north and south choir aisles. (39) Access through the screen doors may have been limited to particular individuals. The desire to restrict the growing number of pilgrims visiting the shrines in the chapel aisles from entering the most sanctified part of the building probably meant they were usually locked. This reflects likely liturgical beliefs about the use of particular spaces for particular audiences in the building; access during ordinary and ceremonial occasions throughout the year will be considered below.⁶⁴ It may, in addition, have been a simple security measure, designed to protect altar plate and revered images from theft and abuse.

By 1483 the main decorative features of the choir, including the magnificent canopies and decorated stalls, seem to have been in place. **III. 10** Four-centred arches with continuous mouldings make up the main structure, above which are clerestory windows. In between runs a cornice set with suns and roses over which is a row of six feathered and diademed angels carved in high relief. The Yorkist *rose-en-soleil* motif is clearly visible from the oriel windows of Edward IV's chantry chapel, but is less visually prominent from the level of the choir. At the west end, a pulpitum or rood loft was constructed. St John Hope has suggested that as the chapel was collegiate, the two may have been combined, as was the case at St Stephen's, Westminster, Eton and Fotheringhay.⁶⁵ Payments in 1477-78 to Giles van Castell and Dirike Vangrove for the figures of St George and the Dragon, St Edward, Our Lord on the Cross, St Mary and St John the Evangelist, probably refer to those carved for the rood beam.⁶⁶ There may have been an organ in the loft and by the early sixteenth century, the loft was certainly being used to house trumpeters during important ceremonies.⁶⁷

⁶² Fehrman, "Chantry Chapel", p. 180.

⁶³ I am grateful to the sacristan who allowed access to the chapel.

⁶⁴ See below, Chapters Three and Four.

⁶⁵ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 446. A collegiate foundation referred to a community or corporation of secular clergy living together for the purpose of saying religious service. The church supported on this endowment was called a collegiate church, because the ecclesiastical services and solemnities were performed by a college, ie. a body or staff of clergymen, consisting of a provost, or dean, and canons.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 429.

⁶⁷ See my discussion of the investiture of Philip of Castile, Chapter Three.

Against the rood screen are four returned choir stalls. The sovereign (12) and the prince of Wales (13) occupied those innermost to the choir door. Fixed to the wall between the four returned stalls and the side stalls are wooden screens with niches containing carved figures. On the north, the scenes show St George overcoming the dragon, St Catherine with a book, sword and a broken wheel, and Our Lady and Child. (40) On the south the niches contain St John the Evangelist, turning towards Edward the Confessor and a third king, probably St Edmund. (41) Both sides are visible from the returned stalls, but the position of those on the south side near to the sovereign's stall, suggests that figures of kings may have been chosen because of their proximity to the sovereign. For occupants of the side choir stalls, there were plenty of other details to keep one's interest. The desk fronts are carved with details from the lives of the saints and from the life of Christ.⁶⁸ An inscription from the text of the 20th Psalm runs between the desks and the lower rank of stalls and sets up interesting relationship between viewing images in proximity to text. (16, 17) **III. 11** Psalm 20 is a royal psalm containing a liturgical prayer for the king.⁶⁹ The prayer offered on the king's behalf at the beginning of the psalm is followed by an assurance that it will be granted as a result of faith in God. The juxtaposition of sentiments found in this psalm – the emphasis on faith bringing relief from suffering and subsequent victory in all a king's exploits – may provide a link between the visual dichotomy of Edward IV's own tomb, in which the pomp of an earthly potentate was eschewed in favour of a humble image of human frailty.

End of row poppy heads provide an opportunity for further decorative detail, those on the north side showing predominantly scenes from the Passion and those on the south side showing scenes from the life of the Virgin and from the life of St George.⁷⁰ **III. 12** The combination of narratives of the Virgin and St George will be considered below.⁷¹ The plethora of themes in the choir carvings and misericords belies a single-channelled iconographic interpretation. Instead it is more appropriate to see the opportunity for an exuberant expression of multifarious images utilised to maximum effect. The stalls themselves are crowned with elaborate gothic canopies, in which the motif of the traceried

⁶⁸ M. R. James, *St George's Chapel, Windsor: The Woodwork of the Choir* (Windsor, 1933. Reprinted, 1985). James describes the scenes on the choir stall carvings, amending some of the earlier suggestions posited by St John Hope.

⁶⁹ M. Black and H. H. Rowley (ed.), *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London/Edinburgh, 1962), p. 417. It begins on the north side "Exaudiet te dominus in die tribulacionis protegat te nomen Dei iacob...". St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 470, n. 75 prints the full text.

⁷⁰ J. White, "Four Poppy Heads in the Choir" in *Report of the Friends of the Society of St George* (1984-5), pp. 236-240.

⁷¹ This is explored further in Chapter Three.

window echoes the chapel architecture and the design of the gates for Edward's tomb.⁷² From these, a visual tribute to the chivalric function of the chapel would have been hung – the sword and crest of each individual Garter Knight occupant of that particular stall⁷³ – and behind would have been tacked a brass enamelled plate bearing his coat of arms. **III. 13**

The high altar is approached by three wide steps, and was possibly enclosed. Hollar's engraving of the east end of the choir shows a balustrade around the choir, and there is a payment for the construction of a new one in 1677.⁷⁴ **(42) III. 14** The high altar was probably covered with a canopy as the 1552 inventory records "hangings of red cloth of Tissew and blue sarcenet, ij. pieces embroidered for the upper part of the choir behind the high altar".⁷⁵ **(18)** The inventory of 1534 describes a silver-gilt image of Our Lady and Child weighing 165 ¼ lbs "always on the high altar", which was the image given to the chapel by Henry III and refashioned by Henry V.⁷⁶ **(43)** This was one of the oldest of St George's images, with a direct link to the founder of the original chapel at Windsor, and its pride of place on the high altar indicates that the process of anchoring the new within an established tradition of image use in the chapel remained important. Furthermore, it is interesting that of the various known adornments on the high altar in the earlier chapel, only the image of Our Lady appears to have been moved to the new building. The alabaster reredos from the earlier chapel was not set up behind the high altar in Edward IV's chapel. Perhaps by the late fifteenth century it appeared outdated and crude in such a visually modern context.⁷⁷

The function of the alabaster tabernacle may also have rendered it an inappropriate feature for the new chapel. Relics which are last recorded as having been placed in the old tabernacle in the inventory of 1410, such as the Cross Gneith,⁷⁸ appear in the 1501 inventory as freestanding objects.⁷⁹ This suggests that enclosing all these objects within one structure was

⁷² An analysis of the relationship between the canopies, the containing architecture and other features of the chapel, has been undertaken by C. Tracy, *English Gothic Choir Stalls 1400-1500* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 47-58.

⁷³ Studies of the stall plates include E. Fellowes, *The Knights of the Garter, 1348-1939, With a Complete List of the Stall Plates in St George's Chapel* (Windsor, 1939); G. Holmes, *The Order of the Garter: Its Knights and Stall Plates 1348-1984* (Windsor, 1984). An individual plate has been studied by P. Begent, J. Cherry and J. Goodall, "The Basset Stall-plate" in Keen and Scarff (ed.), *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology*, pp. 132-137 and the heraldic decoration considered more widely by P. Begent, "The Heraldic Decoration of St George's Chapel, Windsor" in the same volume, pp. 208-213.

⁷⁴ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 426.

⁷⁵ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 193.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 166.

⁷⁷ That there are no traces of its existence beyond the date at which the new chapel was commenced suggests that it was simply broken up when the old chapel was replaced with the Lady Chapel planned by Henry VII.

⁷⁸ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 108.

⁷⁹ Two cross relics appear in the 1384 inventory – that of the Cross Gneith and that of a relic of the True Cross, p. 51. Only one appears in the 1501 inventory, and its description could tally with either of

no longer considered desirable. The construction of a larger chapel more able to accommodate pilgrims offered more interactive ways of viewing relics. The provision of various visual stopping points in the aisles, suggests that they may have been distributed more freely around the building than in the earlier chapel. The south choir aisle, with the tomb of John Schorn and later that of Henry VI, seems to have functioned especially as an axis along which the public came to engage with shrines and relics. **III. 15**

The octagonal chapel of John Schorn to the south east of the choir was one of the earliest parts of the building to be completed. **(24) III. 16** The vault bears a stylistic relationship to that under Edward IV's chantry chapel, which was complete by 1483.⁸⁰ **III. 17 a and b** The congruity identifies these two parts of the chapel as likely features of the original plan – a suggestion endorsed by the translation of John Schorn's body to Windsor at an early stage of the chapel's construction.⁸¹ No doubt Edward IV and Richard Beauchamp were aware of the pecuniary advantages of encouraging pilgrimage, and income from the shrine may have helped fund the ongoing building campaign.⁸² Access was through a door in a screen decorated with panelled tracery separating the ambulatory and the side chapel.⁸³ Evidence for the original appearance of the chapel has been considered recently by Richard Marks. He suggests that expenditure on establishing the cult was limited to providing for an enterclose screen, a collecting box, and constructing at some stage a new wooden chest for the remains of Schorn. The altar in the chapel was orientated to the south-east, and probably placed on a step. Behind the altar are the remains of four plugholes from which the altar frontal may originally have been suspended. There is no evidence for the location of the original reliquary within the chapel. Richard Marks comments on the absence of any visual signifiers of Schorn in the fabric of the chapel, suggesting that this may indicate a certain degree of circumspection about Schorn's cult on the part of Beauchamp.⁸⁴

The rules governing viewing in this chapel, however, most likely functioned in a different way to those determining the looking process in the north choir aisle. Although the chapel was separated by a screen from the main building, pilgrims were almost certainly admitted to the shrine in order to engage physically and visually with the object of devotion.

those mentioned in earlier inventories, p. 149. As the Cross Gneth appears again in the 1534 inventory, p. 166, but the other cross does not, I have assumed that the 1501 reference refers to the Cross Gneth.

⁸⁰ W. C. Leedy, *Fan Vaulting: A Study of Form, Technology and Meaning* (London, 1980), p. 222.

⁸¹ A papal bull was secured from Sixtus IV to translate Schorn from the parish church at North Marston, Bucks, in 1478. St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 411.

⁸² R. Marks, "A Late Medieval Pilgrimage Cult: Master John Schorn of North Marston and Windsor" in Keen and Scarff (ed.) *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology*, p. 192.

⁸³ The chapel is now occupied by the tomb of Edmund, earl of Lincoln and his third wife, Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald dating from c.1584-5.

⁸⁴ Marks, "A Late Medieval Pilgrimage Cult", p. 200.

That it was necessary to surround the altar by an enterclose, mentioned in the accounts for 1480-81, supports this. Schorn had acquired a reputation as a miracle-worker after conjuring the devil into an old boot.⁸⁵ Foxe suggests the boot went with John Schorn to Windsor;⁸⁶ the several pilgrim tokens surviving, which show the figure of Schorn carrying a boot out of which peers the devil, imply that this image became his popular attribute by which the pilgrim could identify Schorn and engage with his cult.⁸⁷

Niches in the south choir aisle probably housed relics. On the north side of the aisle, a canopied recess bears an inscription beneath.⁸⁸ **(35) III. 18** This refers to Bishop Beauchamp “Wholeye this booke here”.⁸⁹ It also refers to the Holy Cross – presumably the Cross Gneth – depicted in a roof boss located between this niche and the corresponding opposite niche.⁹⁰ **(36) III. 19** Underneath, three shields bear the arms of Richard Beauchamp in the centre, Beauchamp of Warwick on the right, and Beauchamp of Holt on the left. The proximity of the heraldic stamp to the roof boss in which Beauchamp and Edward IV kneel in devotion on either side of the cross, **(37)** and the inscription, provides a theme for this part of the building.⁹¹ This True Cross relic may therefore have been chained in the south side niche in which there are the remains of fastenings with a metal plug.

The niche in the south side of the aisle is deeper than that in the north side, and has an opening towards the Schorn chapel in which there is a traceried wooden panel. **III. 20** This may have functioned as a squint from the chapel to the aisle, and *vice versa*. It would therefore have potentially linked one of the oldest relics in the building, and the only one which carried an indulgence,⁹² with the new shrine devoted to Schorn. The intention may have been to layer the process of pilgrimage into a series of visually prompted devotional exercises, through which the potential for salvation could be maximised.

⁸⁵ For Schorn’s appeal to pilgrims, see *ibid*.

⁸⁶ W. Sparrow-Simpson, “Master John Schorn: His Effigy in Painted Glass” in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXV (1869), p. 340 cites Foxe’s testimony.

⁸⁷ This will be explored further in Chapter Four.

⁸⁸ This niche is 105 cm wide, 150 cm high and 37.5 cm deep. Its shallow depth suggests that it may always have been intended to house a book rather than a sculpted image.

⁸⁹ S. Bond, *The Monuments of St George’s Chapel* (Windsor, 1958), n. 14.

⁹⁰ The permanent vault over this part of the aisle was most likely constructed in the reign of Henry VII. Tatton-Brown, “Constructional Sequence”, p. 13. The cross depicted here is not an accurate representation of the Cross Gneth – the object cited in the inventories is jewel-studded and stands “apon lyons garnysed full with arlee and stone”, p. 166. It is not possible to ascertain from this description whether the original was indeed a celtic cross, but the boss depiction tallies with other representations of the cross worked into the fabric of the chapel. One of the angels surrounding the east window carries a similar shaped cross, and a roof boss on the nave also shows a celtic cross.

⁹¹ “Who’s dute or devocion is eased by thus booke they woll for hym this com’une, Oryso’n Dn’e Jhe’ xp’e: knelyng in the presence of this holy Crosse for the Wyche the Reverence Fadir in god above seyde granted of the tresure of the Chirche to every man xl days of pardun”.

⁹² See below, Chapter 4, p. 249.

Seeing from a different angle, by other people for an alternative purpose, came to be as important in the south choir aisle as such considerations were to Edward's chantry on the opposite aisle. Above the Schorn chapel, Hope has identified two chambers as the likely location of the treasurer's counting house.⁹³ In the lower of these two chambers, a square recess under the west window opens onto the aisle allowing a view of the pilgrimage activity taking place around the shrines and niches.⁹⁴ **III. 21** Although not one of the viewing points concerned with devotional activity, this would have allowed an official to watch the comings and goings in the choir aisle below from a concealed position. As a cautionary concession to the need to protect relics from damage or theft, this squint suggests a desire to monitor the process of pilgrimage.

The south aisle also houses two later chantries. The chantry of Oliver King, who became a canon of Windsor in 1489, bishop of Exeter in 1492-3 and bishop of Bath and Wells in 1496, is a small structure tucked between a buttress of the south choir aisle, and the east end of the south transept chapel, and probably completed by his death in 1503. **(27) III. 2 and 22** The chapel is decorated with a modern reproduction of the original colouring, discovered when it was restored in 1847. There was an image of St George in this chapel, in addition to the one in the choir.⁹⁵ Further eastwards, on the north side of the south choir aisle, is the chantry chapel of John Oxenbridge, canon from 1509 to 1522, modelled on the Hastings chapel in the north choir aisle. **(26) III. 15 and 23** The interior of the chantry is decorated with panels showing scenes from the life of St John the Baptist.

The plethora of motifs recording the main benefactor towards the completion of the nave, the hemp brake badges and coats of arms commemorating Sir Reynold Bray, who is buried in the south transept (d. 1503), mark the stamping of a different personality on the second phase of the building work at St George's.⁹⁶ **(8) III. 24** The north and south transepts are decorated with a cornice below the windows decorated with roses and crowns. In both transepts, the altar was under the east window, above which was a cornice with squared suns and roses, and above still, a row of five sculptured feathered busts of angels. The chapel of each transept is shut off from the main body of the church by a stone screen, the lower part of which is solid and the upper part forms a series of four-light windows. **III. 25** Above is a cornice set with brakes and an achievement of the arms, helm and crest of Bray. This is also

⁹³ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 423.

⁹⁴ I am grateful to the sacristan for allowing me access to the upper chambers. The squint hole gazes directly down into the south aisle onto the pilgrim box set up for Henry VI.

⁹⁵ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 161.

⁹⁶ This will be explored further in Chapter Two.

repeated on the chapel side. A chantry was founded in the north transept chapel by Anne, duchess of Exeter, the sister of Edward IV, by letters patent dated 30 March 1481.⁹⁷ (9) Anne, (d.1475/6) and her husband, Thomas St Leger (d.1483) are commemorated by a brass now situated on the wall of the chapel.⁹⁸ In the centre of the chapel, is the tomb of their daughter, Lady Anne, and her husband, George, Lord Roos, dating from c.1520.

The chapel of the south transept originally resembled that of the north transept in every way. However, alterations made shortly before it was finished included the addition of a series of canopied brackets for six images, inserted about two and a half metres up the vaulting shafts. Additionally, under the east window, the cornice over the altar was taken out and the row of angels above raised about 40 cm, to make way for a number of canopied niches for images which formed the reredos of the altar. There is now no sign of the original tomb of Sir Reynold Bray; instead the chapel contains monuments dating from the early seventeenth century onwards.

The nave is entered from the crossing by an arch similar to those in the transepts. At the far end is the great west window, which contains five rows of fifteen lights divided into three series by shafts which spring from the nave floor. (44) III. 26 At the top of the middle light is a panel with the arms and supporters of Henry VII under a large crown. Bray made financial provisions in his will for the chapel glazing.⁹⁹ This project is unlikely to have commenced prior to 1506 in the nave, and 1509 in the choir, for only then were both areas vaulted. The choir-aisle windows may, however, have been glazed at an earlier date. The majority of surviving medieval glass in the chapel is in the great west window, which contains seventy-five lights each occupied by single figures of popes, kings, archbishops, bishops and saints.¹⁰⁰ The colouring of the glass is intense – a variety of crimsons, lilacs, blues and greens with only a small amount of white glass and yellow stain – and a number of hands can be identified in their preparation.¹⁰¹ Some of these figures may, however, have been destined for an earlier scheme, planned for the windows in the choir, but not installed.¹⁰² In view of Bray's experience in directing glazing programmes in other foundations, it seems likely that he had at least given general directions for the scheme.¹⁰³ The surviving evidence suggests that the predominant design motif was of single figures, but this does not mean that there were

⁹⁷ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.58.C.7.

⁹⁸ Bond, *Monuments*, p. 4.

⁹⁹ National Archives PROB 11/13 sig. 26.

¹⁰⁰ H. Wayment, "The Medieval Stained Glass" in Brown (ed.) *Stained Glass of St George's Chapel*, p. 8. Not all the figures in this window are medieval survivals. In 1842, Willement introduced seven new figures, twenty new heads, and numerous other additions to clothes or limbs.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, pp. 11-27.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁰³ Bray's role as a patron will be considered in Chapter Two.

never any biblical or sacred subjects in the windows; there were many more windows in the church in which such subjects could easily have been placed. Unfortunately however, there is no remaining evidence of their earlier contents. Finally, as fragments of surviving glass in windows of the nave clerestory include examples of Bray's hemp-brake badge, it is possible that small tracery lights in many of the windows may have been given over to other armorial decoration.

The nave is covered with a lierne vault, with numerous carved bosses at the intersection of the ribs.¹⁰⁴ Many of the subjects represented in the main vault, are repeated in the north and south aisles. Of the many designs, there are representations of the arms of St George and St Edward, those of Henry VII, those of the patron, Reynold Bray, and those of the dean of the chapel at the time, Christopher Urswick. There were altars in the nave, for the 1501 inventory mentions "outside" altars. By analogy with the earlier foundation, these were probably placed against the pulpitum, but no dedications for these are known.¹⁰⁵ **(45)**

Architecturally, the treatment of the nave aisles is very similar to that of the choir aisles, suggesting that the aisles had been planned and built as high as the windows by Edward IV's mason.¹⁰⁶ Both aisles have a continuous stone bench along the wall and are covered with fan vaults, similar to those of the choir aisles, with armorial centres. In the first bay of each aisle is a wide doorway to the outside. The south door, adjacent to Bray's chantry chapel, appears to have been the usual entrance to the chapel from its early days.¹⁰⁷ **(7) III. 25 and 27** The westernmost bays of both the north and the south aisles open into a polygonal chapel. A chantry was founded in the northern chapel in 1507 by dean Christopher Urswick, which is entered from the north aisle. **(5) III. 28** The chapel has windows on three of its five sides and below, a decorative cornice displays a number of armorial devices.¹⁰⁸ The southern chapel was appropriated as a chantry by Sir Charles Herbert, K.G., Lord Herbert of Gower (and later earl of Worcester) and his wife, Elizabeth, in 1506. **(6)** The chapel is the same size as the north chapel, and the entrance retains the original stone and iron enterclose. Just within the chapel, to the east, is a large niche with a canopy. On its front is a shield of Beaufort impaling Herbert. As in the northern chapel, a decorative cornice running below the window contains

¹⁰⁴ The full arrangement is given in C. Cave, and H. Stanford-London, "The Roof Bosses in St George's Chapel, Windsor" in *Archaeologia* 95 (1953), pp. 102-107.

¹⁰⁵ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 157 and p. 271.

¹⁰⁶ Tatton Brown, "Constructional Sequence", p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter Two, p. 124 and Chapter Three, p. 180.

¹⁰⁸ Detailed in St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 456.

armorial decoration.¹⁰⁹ In the middle of the chapel is a tomb of purbeck marble, with inlaid brass shields, surmounted by effigies of alabaster of the earl of Worcester and his wife.

There appears always to have been a pulpit in the nave. The earliest record in the treasurer's account for 1483-4, is for "nine boards of wainscot bought for making a pulpit,"¹¹⁰ but St John Hope has observed that this obviously did not survive the troubles of the seventeenth century, for Hollar's engraving of the crossing, dated 1663, shows a new pulpit of the time.¹¹¹ **III. 29**

The unity of the decorative schema found in the choir suggests it was planned from the outset as a single entity. That the north aisle was to function as a royal / courtly space, and that the south aisle was to function as a popular axis seems a logical division of functional space within the chapel, even if it was an inversion of the usual procedure.¹¹² The correlations between choir and aisle, for example, the recreation of similar vaulting schemes in the choir and nave aisles, suggests that although the two were built around twenty years apart, there was an attempt to maintain the appearance of a building that had been planned under Edward IV. However, the divergences from the original scheme, in particular the consistent insertion of coats of arms and devices by the later benefactor to the church, Sir Reynold Bray, imply that it is not sufficient simply to view the nave as an appendix to the choir. Instead, it should be viewed as a part of the building that complemented the former, while embodying the aspirations and changed circumstances of a new generation.

This outline suggests that an understanding of the process of viewing to those constructing both choir and nave was crucial. Different people were able to view the building from many angles, at varying times. The plethora of visual relationships this opened up, and the order in which one image was seen in relation to another, depended on the point at which a journey into the visual was embarked on. A hierarchical division of space within the chapel gave the most well-connected people the option to look not merely from more vantage points, but in a number of different ways. Whether watching a ceremony from the king's oratory, observing the pilgrims in the south choir aisle, or solemnizing an occasion by touching the Cross Gneth,¹¹³ those with access to the choir and the upper rooms of the chapel, engaged with the visual in a wider sense than pilgrims entering the nave, and accessing the south choir

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p. 457.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 459.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² Antje Fehrman has noted that French royal and ducal oratories were mostly built south of the high altar, whereas the north was reserved for relics. The oratory of the Dukes of Burgundy at Champmol, however, was placed north of the high altar. "Chantry Chapel", p. 185.

¹¹³ See below, Chapter Three, p. 181.

aisle in order to visit the shrines situated there. For the latter, vision was just one of the senses important in solemnizing the pilgrimage rite; touch was crucial too. At St George's, an understanding of the process of pilgrimage was built into the structure, and the desire to proscribe pilgrims' boundaries by considering the placement of doors, niches, barriers, chains and gates, was apparent from its very conception. Those responsible for constructing the chapel therefore demonstrated a sophisticated appreciation of the multifarious visual opportunities open to differing social groups that came to be an essential feature of late medieval churches.

CHAPTER ONE

A YORKIST MAUSOLEUM

I had Inogthe, I hyld nott me content,
 With-outt Remembraunce that I schuld dy,
 More to encesse was myne entent.
 Beyng nott warre who schuld occupy
 I mad the towre strong, butt I wyst nott why,
 Nore to whom I purchased tatersall;
 I amendyd dovere on the mowntayge hy,
 And provokyd London to fortifye ther wall
 I made notynghame a place Ryall,
 Wyncore and etton and many odur moo,
 Westmynster and eltham – yit went I from all,
 Quia ecce nunc in puluere dormio.

*Lament of the Soul of Edward IV*¹

This poem, written by an anonymous contemporary of Edward IV, provides an early assessment of his posthumous legacy.² Speaking as Edward himself, the author describes the projects Edward had patronised, acknowledging the underlying reality – that in spite of all his vanities, he would still have to die. Windsor was but one of Edward's building programmes in a list which featured Dover Castle, the Tower of London, Tattershall, Westminster, and Eton.³ This list belies their relative importance. Work may have been undertaken at the behest of Edward IV at each of these locations, but his favoured residences were the Thames Valley palaces of Windsor, Sheen, Westminster, Eltham and Greenwich, where the court spent most of its time after 1475.⁴ He spent heavily on the defences of Calais and the Pale castles, and at the Tower of London he built a new brick bulwark for gun emplacements. At Nottingham and Fotheringhay, his building works were intended for residential purposes, and included a new polygonal tower at the former, and new chambers, latrines, turrets and a

¹ C. Brown (ed.), *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* (Oxford, 1939), p. 252.

² The poem is discussed in A. F. Sutton and O. Visser-Fuchs, "Laments for the Soul of Edward IV" *Ricardian* XI no. 145 (1999), pp. 506-524 and *Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor*, (Richard III Society, 2005), pp. 75-92.

³ C. L. Schofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV* (London, 1923), pp. 429-431.

⁴ C. Ross, *Edward IV* (Yale, 1997), p. 275.

kitchen at Fotheringhay. Consideration of Edward's attitude towards Eton suggests that the author did not discriminate between Edward's role as a patron of different foundations. Rather than supporting the foundation early in his reign, Edward IV sought to annex Eton to St George's at Windsor, procuring a papal bull on 13 November 1463 sanctioning the union.⁵ By 1472 he appears to have abandoned this plan and restored at least part of the previously confiscated property and vestments.⁶ This act, however, scarcely merits the description that it was one of the places Edward IV made "Ryall".

Edward's change of heart occurred shortly before 1473, when he appointed Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, as supervisor of a project to rebuild the old collegiate chapel at Windsor. The subsequent channelling of royal funds into this project makes it above all worthy of the author's epithet that Edward was motivated by a desire to leave an architectural legacy. As the instigator of the project, it is essential to firstly consider the chapel from Edward IV's own perspective. This chapter therefore addresses some key questions about why St George's took the form that it did. What were Edward IV's intentions? How did the chapel relate to other projects associated with Edward? How did he perceive that this foundation would be used, and by whom? A fuller understanding of the impact the space had on other individuals can only be successfully appraised if these preliminary issues have first been addressed.

As a king, Edward had a duty to cultivate splendour on a wider scale than merely as an architectural patron. In *On the Governance of England* c.1471, the fifteenth century political theorist, John Fortescue, argued that magnificence should be displayed according to one's estate.⁷ Kingly wealth was measured by rich clothes, furs, stones, jewels, hangings; vessels, vestments and ornaments for his chapel; and horses of great price. It is therefore unsurprising that objects of conspicuous kingly consumption accounted for a significant part of annual expenditure from the very beginning of Edward IV's reign. Between April 1461 and September 1462, a period which included the coronation, his keeper of the great wardrobe, George Darell, spent £4,784 2s. 10 ½ d. on clothes, linen, furs and other fine fabrics for the king and his household. Between September 1462 and April 1465, he spent another £5,201, an average of some £2000 a year.⁸ Routine expenditure on jewellery was considerable, and Edward IV also seems to have been the first royal sovereign to accumulate a substantial and permanent royal library. More than twenty illuminated manuscripts with

⁵ CPL: 1458-1471, pp. 342-344.

⁶ R. Willis and J. Willis Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1888. Reprinted 1988), vol. i., p. 406.

⁷ C. Plummer (ed.), *Fortescue on the Governance of England* (Oxford, 1885).

⁸ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 261.

Edward's arms, or the royal arms with badges and devices indicating a Yorkist connection, survive.⁹ Almost thirty others can be linked with Edward on the grounds of illumination, heraldry or script. Relatively few religious and devotional works survive in the old Royal Library, probably because they were given away or deliberately disposed of at the time of the Reformation. Edward himself gave all the books of his chapel to the queen in his will, except for some destined for the canons of Windsor. A book of Gregorian Homilies, now Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 192, which appears to have been written in Rouen in the twelfth century and rebound in the fifteenth century, carries a label "ex dono Illustriss, reg. Edwardi quarti". This may have been one of the volumes Edward left to the college which found its way into the Bodleian in 1612 when Sir Thomas Bodley persuaded the College of St George to present seventy of its manuscripts to his new library at Oxford, although its former Windsor provenance cannot be confirmed by a press stamp or ownership mark.¹⁰

Soon after his return from exile in Burgundy in 1471-2, where he had been the guest of Louis de Gruuthuyse, Edward IV began to order a series of illuminated manuscripts from Flemish artists and scribes working mainly in Bruges.¹¹ Like his architectural projects, these were volumes generously illustrated with the royal arms, the Garter insignia and a number of Yorkist badges, especially the *rose-en-soleil*.¹² His tastes as a book collector closely resembled those of the Burgundian court circle in preferring French over Latin works, except for service books. He also shared their liking for histories and historical romances, which included works such as Raoul le Fevre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*¹³, Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*¹⁴, Wavrin's *Chroniques d'Angleterre*¹⁵ and portions of Froissart's *Chronicles*.¹⁶ British Library Royal MS. 14 E II, a volume from Edward's library, *Les IX malheureux et les IX malheureuses*, consisting of eighteen ten line stanzas put into the mouths of such figures as Priam, Hercules, Saul, Pompey, Hannibal, Helen and Medea, confirms his taste for didactic and moralistic works, also popular at the court of Burgundy. The instigator of fashion at the English court, Edward's purchase of such works

⁹ J. P. Carley (ed.), *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*. Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues vol. 7 (London, 2000), pp. xxiii-xxvi.

¹⁰ Bond, *Inventories*, pp. 289-290.

¹¹ His activities as a collector of Flemish manuscripts have been investigated by J. Backhouse, "The Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts" in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987) and S. McKendrick, "The *Romuléon* and the Manuscripts of Edward IV" in N. Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stanford, 1994).

¹² G. F. Warner and J. P. Gibson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), vol. i., p. xii.

¹³ BL Royal MS 17 E II.

¹⁴ BL Royal MS 14 E I.

¹⁵ BL Royal MS 13 E IV and 15 EV.

¹⁶ BL Royal MS 18 E II.

most likely made an impact on his subjects, such as William, Lord Hastings, and Sir John Donne, who emulated his patronage processes in their own collecting activities.¹⁷

Edward collected tapestries, particularly the highly sought-after “cloths of arras”. In 1467-8, he purchased at least three sets of tapestry, almost certainly with the assistance of the merchant Pasquier Grenier of Tournai.¹⁸ In 1468, £984 was spent on sets of arras which included scenes from the History of Alexander, the Passion and the Last Judgement.¹⁹ He may also have purchased second-hand tapestries, possibly in 1480 acquiring seven tapestries of the *Story of Rome* which had previously been sold at Antwerp in 1478. Also in 1478, five tapestries bought by Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy from a Bruges merchant for over £1000, were sent across the Channel to William, Lord Hastings, confirming that as his courtiers emulated his activity as collectors of Flemish manuscripts, so they also sought to invest in tapestries.²⁰ Some tapestries were allocated at an early date to royal residencies, however, much of the collection was kept in repositories where necessary maintenance was carried out and the pieces kept secure. From there they were moved as instructed for specific ceremonial occasions, such as Garter ceremonies and diplomatic meetings. The 1501 inventory of St George’s Chapel records a number of cloths of arras, including one showing the mystery of the sacrament, another showing Christ enthroned, and one “continentem imagines novem virorum illustrium”.²¹ Edward’s interest in this subject is confirmed by its presence in the Royal Library: it is tempting to think that this was a gift to his new chapel from Edward himself, the subject a didactic pictorial prompt to his Garter Knights.

Clearly as a patron, Edward looked to continental examples, and sought inspiration from them. However, it is possible to overstate Edward’s dependence on the activities of others, particularly the court of Burgundy. Edward was no mere sycophant to visually splendid European court cultures; instead his projects owe much to his ability to mediate foreign forms and styles through an English vocabulary that embraced familiar modes and fashions in order to express them in a distinctly individual way. Writing approvingly about Edward’s cultivation of splendour appropriate to that of a king, the Croyland Chronicler captured his brand of individuality, observing “ita ut in comparandis vasis aureis et argenteis, tapisseriis, oramentis tam Regalibus quam Ecclesiarum pretiosissimis, Castrorum,

¹⁷ See below, Chapter Two.

¹⁸ S. McKendrick, “Tapestries from the Low Countries” in C. Barron and N. Saul (ed.), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Sutton, 1995), p. 47.

¹⁹ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 263. His courtiers also favoured this story. See below, Chapter Two, pp. 81-83.

²⁰ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 45. The relationship between his own and his courtiers’ articulation of sacred space will be explored in Chapter Two, below.

²¹ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 158.

Collegiorum, & aliorum locorum insignium aedificationibus, terrarium & possessionum perquisitionibus novis, nullus antecessorum suorum ejus egregia facinora aequare potuerit".²² Edward would no doubt have been pleased with such a compliment, but the nature of his patronage projects, particularly his involvement at Windsor, suggests that he was not simply motivated by a desire to surpass the achievements of his forbearers in terms of scale and geographical diversity of artistic references.

Negotiating the Legacy of his Predecessors

St George's Chapel rose as a visual counterweight to Eton College on the Berkshire skyline. Edward IV's initially lukewarm reception of his predecessor's foundation is one which calls for fuller consideration if the structure and iconography of St George's is to be fully appreciated.

Henry VI's death in the Tower in 1471 provides a pertinent insight into the way one monarch could manipulate the legacy of another. Unlike the lavish funeral ceremony usually accorded to English kings, described in the fourteenth century *Liber regie capelle*,²³ Henry VI's burial was short and unostentatious. The author of the *Great Chronicle of London* recorded the details:

"Upon Ascension evyn, the Corps of Kyng Henry the VIth was browgth throw Cornhill ffrom the Towyr with a grete company of men of that place beryng wepyngs as they shuld have ladd hym to some place of execucion, and soo conveyed him unto paulys, where that nyth he was sett In the body of the chyrch ffor again the Image of owir lady of Grace opyn vysagid, that he myghth be knowyn, and upon the morn wythh a ffew Torchis as he was thidyr browgth, Soo was he thens conveyed unto the watyrs side, and ffrom thens unto Chertesey & there buried."²⁴

This account alludes to the suspicion Henry's death in the Tower aroused. The comment that those accompanying him carried weapons as if they were leading him to "execution" possibly refers to popular sentiments regarding Edward IV's role in his death. Another account is less colourful:

"The sayd Henry, late called Kyng, being in the Tower of London... toke it to so great despite, ire and indignation, that of pure displeasure, and

²² W. Fulman (ed.), "Historiae Croylandensis Continuatio" in *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veterum* (Oxford, 1684), p. 559. See also p. 563 for a description of the magnificence he cultivated at court during the Christmas of 1482.

²³ W. Ullman (ed.), *Liber regie capelle* (London, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1962), pp. 111-115.

²⁴ A. Thomas and I. Thornley (ed.), *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1938), f. 193v.

melencoly, he dyed the xxiiij. day of the monithe of May. Whom the Kyng dyd to be browght to the friers prechars at London, and there, his funeral service donne, to be caried by watar, to an Abbey upon Thamys syd, xvj. myles from London, called Chertsey, and there honourably enteryd.”²⁵

This author usefully links Edward IV himself with the funeral plans for Henry VI, and presents a firmly pro-Yorkist view of his actions.²⁶ Both texts stress the simple nature of the ceremony. Henry did not lie in state like other English kings. He merely rested beside an image of the Virgin overnight before being transferred to Chertsey, where the chroniclers’ silence regarding the ceremony of interment suggests few witnessed it.

The expenses of his Blackfriars funeral reinforce chroniclers’ assertions it was a simple affair. A total of £42 16s 19d was spent, mainly on payments to Hugh Brice for wax, cloth, linen and “other ordinary expenses,” payments to the men carrying torches, payments to those rowing the body to Chertsey, and payments to soldiers for watching the body.²⁷ The contrast with Edward’s own funeral could not have been more pronounced. The author of a 1483 letter estimated the expenses to run to £1, 496 17s 2d.²⁸ Edward’s funeral ceremonial epitomised the procedure then current in England and France. The ritual of lying in state, procession of the coffin topped by an effigy accompanied by mourners and members of the household, and the presence of heralds of arms to organise and record the ceremony had been demonstrated at Henry V’s funeral in 1422.²⁹ The obvious constitutional awkwardness of organising the funeral of a now-deposed monarch may have necessitated the downplaying of Henry VI’s ceremony. Kantorowicz has discussed the dual understanding of the body politic which emerged in this period.³⁰ Just as the Trinity was three entities rolled into one, so kingship came to be identified with two entities – the natural mortal body of a particular king and the eternal, official body politic which survived the mortal body and was incorporated in the successor at his coronation. In the interim phase after the death of a monarch, the body politic came to be incorporated into the funeral effigy, which could be ritually represented as if it were the king itself. This strict understanding of a mortal king, but an eternal office of kingship, made no provision for the treatment of a monarch who died alienated from office, and the provision of an elaborate ceremony for Henry VI in this context would not have been

²⁵ J. Bruce (ed.), *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Finall Recoverye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI A.D. M. CCCC. LXXI* (Camden Society, Old Series, 1838), p. 38.

²⁶ A. Gransden, *History Writing in England c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), vol. ii., p. 249 discusses the status of this chronicle as an official Yorkist History.

²⁷ *EHD*, p. 318.

²⁸ A. F. Sutton and O. Visser-Fuchs, “The Royal Burials of the House of York at Windsor” *The Ricardian: Journal of the Richard III Society* XI no. 143 (1998), p. 368.

²⁹ See below, p. 63.

³⁰ E. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957), p. 421.

constitutionally appropriate. However, given Edward's ongoing need to negotiate a response to his predecessor's legacy, it is likely that Edward IV's influence can be detected behind the simple ceremony. In particular, the choice of Chertsey Abbey as the final resting place for Henry – an isolated site for a monarch's grave – testifies to his likely desire to distance the physical remains of his predecessor from current centres of power and veneration.

There is evidence that Henry VI may have anticipated a tomb in Westminster Abbey, close to the chantry chapel of his father, Henry V. Those still alive in the reign of Henry VII testified that Henry VI frequently visited the abbey, in order to determine the place where his body should lie.³¹ He repeatedly visited the site with other nobles and gentlemen, including John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury.³² On one occasion, it is recorded that he mounted the steps at the west end of his father's monument and spent over an hour in the unfinished chantry, considering the matter from different vantage points. Having made up his mind

“he commawnded a mason to be callyd to thentent to marke out that ground. Whereupon... one called Thurske, that tyme beyng master-mason in the makynge of the Chapelle of King Henry the Vth, which mason incontintently come. And than and there he by the commanudment of the saide Henry the vjth... markyd out the lengthe and brede of the saide sepulture there to be made in the place aforesaid.”³³

Another witness records that in 1454, Henry VI took advice on a tomb from the coppersmith, Thomas Stevens, who was currently working on the earl of Warwick's tomb at Warwick with the marbler, John Essex.³⁴

These memoirs record the patronage process of a king, and indicate how Edward IV may have gone about reaching a decision for the location and appearance of his own tomb, for whom a comparable record of visitation and investigation does not exist. The witnesses record Henry VI repeatedly looking at the site, and viewing it from different angles in order to establish the best location. The underlying consideration about how things would be seen from different places (and presumably by different people) is exposed in this testament to the importance of the looking process. They also suggest that tombs of other kings, particularly

³¹ The context in which their memorials were given – in order to legitimise Westminster Abbey's claim that the body of Henry VI should be re-interred there next to the new tomb of Henry VII, when the Tudor monarch was seeking Henry VI's canonisation – should be taken into account. There was clearly a reason for individuals to assert that Henry stipulated his tomb should be in the Abbey. It does, however, seem likely that Henry would have desired a monument among other kings, close to the chapel of his father, and near the revered shrine of Edward the Confessor.

³² P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1868), p. 574. See Chapter Three for John Talbot as a patron associated with St George's Chapel.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 573.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 576-577.

that of Henry V, in Westminster Abbey, were thought of as potential iconographic sources. It is likely that Edward IV was aware of comparable examples, and thought of the iconography of his own tomb in terms of its relationship to precedent.³⁵

Having dealt with the body of Henry VI, and feeling sufficiently secure on the throne to restore to Eton the privileges he had suspended in 1462, Edward IV still had to negotiate the visual relationship of his new chapel to other buildings, in particular, to his predecessor's rival foundation across the Thames. The document known as "King Henry's Will" sets out Henry VI's intentions for the way Eton was to look. Again, no comparable plan for Edward's St George's survives, but comparison with the "Will" may aid understanding of the process of royal patronage:

"I wol that the Quere of my saide College of Eton shal conteyne in length .C.iiij fete of assise; wherof behinde the high auter shal be .viij. fete, and from the seide auter unto the Quere dore .iiijxx. xv fete...

Item, on the est ende of the seide Quere shal be sette a grete gabel windowe of .iiij. daies and .ij. butterases, and in either seide of the same Quere .viij. windowes, every window of .iiij. daies, and .viij. butterases, conteyning in height from the grounde werkes unto the outer part of the pinnacles .c. fete of assise...

And I wol that the edificacion of my said College of Eton procede in large fourme, clene and substancial, wel replynysshed with goodely wyndowes and vautes leyng a parte superfluite of to grete curiouse werkes of entaille and besy molding...

Item in the saide Quere on either side .xxxii. stalles and the rode loft there, I wol that they be made in like maner and fourme as be the stalles and rodeloft in the chapel of St Stephen ate Westminster, and of the lengthe .xxxii. fete and in brede clere .xii. fete of assise..."³⁶

These extracts indicate that Henry VI was scrupulously sensitive to architectural detail and had a sophisticated understanding of architectural space. The document confirms the attention he paid, most likely on the advice of experts, to precise measurements and the provision of light within the building. The reference to features he did not find pleasing such as the "busy mouldeyns" implies personal stylistic input, rather than a desire to replicate current trends. His architectural sensitivity was built up by intimate knowledge of examples, suggested by his reference to St Stephen's.

³⁵ See below, p. 38 and pp. 41-44.

³⁶ Printed in Willis and Willis Clark, *Architectural History*, vol. i., p. 354.

It is likely that Edward IV's plans for St George's were based on a similarly well-worked knowledge of examples. Edward would have been aware of the architectural features of St Stephen's, and although the fragmentary evidence for the physical structure of St Stephen's makes close analogy problematic, a possible stylistic relationship between the two buildings may be posited. The octagonal corner turrets of St Stephen's may be a source for those subsequently built at St George's.³⁷ **III. 30** At St Stephen's, as at St George's, the foundation of a college (1348) entailed a major alteration in the structure of the finished building; stalls had to be erected for the dean and chapter, and a pulpitum added.³⁸ The internal decorative schema of St Stephen's seems to have been very different from the new Chapel of St George.³⁹ However, there may be a conceptual relationship between the two buildings, which influenced Edward IV's plans for St George's, although by the late fifteenth century, this was realised in an altogether more fashionable way. On the south side of the east end of St Stephen's was the king's pew. This was covered in lead, suggesting that it was an exterior building, but there were presumably openings in the wall of the chapel for the king to look down over the altar. Kings could enter the pew at St Stephen's without entering the chapel at all, and it is possible that the easternmost window of the south side of the chapel was modified so as to allow the king an uninterrupted view of the service taking place below.⁴⁰ The details are different, but the idea of a private space for the king to worship – one separate from the main body of the church, but allowing visual access to the high altar – is one which is found in the oratory constructed for Edward's funerary monument at St George's. **III. 9** The permanent structure of these two chapels was therefore made particular to the needs of the audience they served. Kings had long been accustomed to isolate a corner of sacred buildings, but frequently this was achieved by using a temporary tent-like structure, similar to that shown in the illumination of Philip the Good at prayer.⁴¹ **III.31** In these two English royal chapels, however, consideration of who was being allowed to see what informed the very fabric of the building.⁴²

³⁷ Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel*, p. 72.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 106.

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 106-108. Its panelwork was decorated by statues in relief, paintings, and pattern work of gold stars on a blue background. This is quite distinct from the more restrained use of colour, sculpture and superfluous decoration found in the new Chapel of St George. See below, Chapter Four.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

⁴¹ Brussels BR, MS 9092, f. 9. A richly embroidered tent-like structure is shown on the south side of the choir. From this vantage point, Philip the Good is shielded from the congregation, but has an unimpeded view of the high altar.

⁴² Antje Fehrman has also considered the relationship of the Windsor oratory to the earlier structure created for the dukes of Burgundy at Champmol and that constructed for Louis of Gruuthuyse between his home and the Bruges Church of Notre Dame, "Chantry Chapel", pp. 185-186.

The architectural style of the structure of St George's reinforces the suggestion that Edward IV was sensitive to Henry VI's artistic preferences, but wished to mark his own buildings out as distinctive. As supervisor of the project, Edward chose the bishop of Salisbury, Richard Beauchamp, a logical choice for Windsor was in the medieval diocese of Salisbury, and the bishop of Salisbury had customarily held the role of chaplain of the Order of the Garter. In 1475, Edward IV appointed him its chancellor; the combination of this role with his position at Salisbury, suggests that Beauchamp was well placed to understand the spatial needs that would be placed upon a building having to accommodate Sarum ritual, Garter ceremony and pilgrimage activity. One of Beauchamp's achievements as bishop of Salisbury had been to achieve the canonisation of Osmund, a former bishop of Salisbury, in 1457. Beauchamp saw to it that Pope Calixtus III's instructions in granting canonisation, that Osmund's tomb should be set up in a more worthy place [at Salisbury] to assist the faithful visiting it, were carried out.⁴³ Presumably it was at this point that the saint's tomb was moved to a more central site in the Trinity Chapel there, where Leland saw it. A shrine, probably a raised superstructure over the tomb, was constructed rapidly; gold and silver being applied to it in July 1457, the month of the ceremony of the translation. It may have been for this reason that he chose St Osmund as the subject to decorate his desk front in the choir stalls at St George's;⁴⁴ his devotion to this saint is further emphasised in his will, where he is one of two saints mentioned by Beauchamp. Beauchamp is likely to have been well aware of the benefits, both spiritual and pecuniary, of encouraging pilgrimage in a foundation, and was no-doubt responsible for securing the translation of the miracle-working remains of John Schorn from North Marston to the new chapel at Windsor in the late 1470s.⁴⁵

Beauchamp was buried at Salisbury, where for his own tomb he built a large chapel to the south of the Trinity Chapel in 1481, suggesting that he also regarded a location next to the shrine which would attract visitors to the building, to be important. His chapel there was rich in detailing, with miniature vaulting forms along the cornice, and the whole east wall treated as one great traceried window of which the open lights flanked a closed centrepiece, presumably serving as a reredos. **III. 32**

Having been chosen by Edward IV in January 1467 to head the embassy arranging the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles of Burgundy, a marriage which he duly performed at Damme on 3rd July 1468, Beauchamp was also a man well versed in the English / Flemish

⁴³ T. Cocke and P. Kidson, *Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural History* (RCHM, London, 1993), pp. 12-13.

⁴⁴ A. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, "The Reward of Aesop and a Miracle of St Osmund" in *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, pp. 142-143.

⁴⁵ R. Marks, "A Late Medieval Pilgrimage Cult", p. 200. And see below, pp. 244-246.

dynamic which made Edward's court so distinctive.⁴⁶ His closeness to Edward is articulated in a decorative roof boss of the chapel in which he and Edward kneel together on either side of the True Cross. **III. 19** Below this, in the south choir aisle, an inscription records the site at which a breviary, donated by Beauchamp to the chapel, was chained.⁴⁷ **III. 18** He repaid Edward IV's trust in him by leaving the king a "great and sumptuous bible" in his will.⁴⁸

As master mason of St George's Edward IV chose Henry Janyns, whose reputation had probably been made by the work he had undertaken at Eton and elsewhere. This choice suggests Edward IV, or Richard Beauchamp, had visited the new chapel at Eton, met the masons and considered their work there. Henry Janyns was an Oxfordshire mason, most likely the son of Robert Janyns, who had been employed on important works in the Oxfordshire area.⁴⁹ Robert had been warden of the masons at All Souls' College between 1438 and 1450, had been the master in charge of building the tower of Merton College between 1448 and 1450 and had been in charge of the work taking place at Eton between 1449 and 1453. Henry Janyns probably trained with his father at Merton and Eton, and was certainly apprenticed to his father's successor at Eton, John Clerk, and later his brother, Simon Clerk. From 1477, Simon took over the work at King's College, Cambridge and from 1478 Henry Janyns appears in the accounts at Windsor as master mason. The process of choosing him was probably not just a matter of expediency – were this the primary issue, a mason known only as Leget, already working at Windsor, would have been appointed. Leget had been granted the office of resident master mason at Windsor Castle for life in 1461, and was still working at the castle in 1479 for he was paid for making the great bay window of the queen's chamber there.⁵⁰

In form, the work Henry Janyns directed at Windsor – that of the choir, its aisles and the nave walls up to the consecration crosses about one and a half metres from the ground⁵¹ – bears little resemblance to Eton. The relationship to some recent work undertaken at Oxford, where Henry had been employed prior to his involvement at Eton, is far stronger. The near fan-vault in Divinity Schools, with its elaborate roof bosses, or the vaulting at All Souls' **III. 33** (on which Janyns' father had worked), were the kind of visual resolutions to chapel vaulting Henry Janyns had grown up with. It is probably no coincidence that Richard

⁴⁶ *DNB*, "Richard Beauchamp".

⁴⁷ See Introduction above, p. 18, n. 89.

⁴⁸ National Archives PROB 11/7, f. 31.

⁴⁹ J. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550* (Revised edition, Gloucester, 1987), pp. 54-61 and pp. 159-160.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 177.

⁵¹ Tatton-Brown, "Constructional Sequence", p. 15.

Beauchamp had been on the committee charged with planning Divinity Schools⁵² and it seems likely that a conscious decision was made by Edward IV, or Richard Beauchamp, to appoint a master mason who had the stylistic repertoire to undertake something distinctive at St George's. There are echoes of the elegant restraint apparent in the earlier vaults of All Souls', Oxford, in the earliest part of St George's to be vaulted. The north choir aisle around the site designated to form Edward IV's tomb has a simple fan vault; the central compartment is circular and encloses a series of eight quatrefoils ranged around a central boss in which an angel holds the royal coat of arms. **III. 17b**

If Edward IV turned away from direct architectural reference to the rival foundation of Eton, a more positive stimulus for his architectural style may be found in Edward's relationship to Henry V rather than Henry VI. The developing relationship between Henry V's cultural legacy and subsequent monarchs has not been the subject of a detailed study, and would warrant further investigation. There is considerable evidence that appropriation of this legacy in visual terms may have provided a pertinent reference point for both Henry VI and Edward IV. Henry VI's interest in the chantry chapel of Henry V, has been commented on above,⁵³ but the legacy penetrated deeper than this. Henry V's victory at Agincourt and his subsequent friendly relationship with the Emperor Sigismund, which brought the English the right to representation as a separate nation at the Council of Constance, 1414-17, appears to have marked a high point in English international affairs in the fifteenth century.⁵⁴ It was these features of Henry V's reign which were accorded acclaim by many chroniclers such as the author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*.⁵⁵

Henry V's victories in France and his relationship with the Emperor Sigismund were certainly deemed to be appropriate models for the young Henry VI. At a banquet designed by Lydgate for the coronation of Henry VI, "subtelties" representing Henry V and Sigismund were presented to Henry between the first and the second courses:

"Agents miscreauntes themperour Sigismound
Hath shewid his might which is imperial;
Sithen Henry the Vth so noble a knight was founde
For Christes cause in actis martial
Cherrisshyng the Chirch Lollardes had a falle
To give exauple to kynges that succede

⁵² DNB, "Richard Beauchamp".

⁵³ See above, p. 30.

⁵⁴ L. Loomis, "Nationality at the Council of Constance" in *American Historical Review* 44 (1938-9), pp. 508-527.

⁵⁵ F. Taylor and J. Roskell (ed.), *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Oxford, 1975), p. 133.

And to his braunche in especiall

While he dothe regne to love God and drede.”⁵⁶

His father, in connection with his alliance to Sigismund, was presented to the young king as a successful diplomat, a faithful guardian of the church and a bearer of exemplar military and chivalric virtues.

This was the kind of eulogy likely to be appreciated by any subsequent monarch. A visual feature of the choir may provide a clue to Edward IV's own evaluation of his success as a monarch. The misericord of the sovereign's stall shows a meeting on a bridge between two monarchs. **III. 34** The scene depicted is probably the conclusion of the 1475 Treaty of Picquigny which ended the war with France, and brought Edward a sizeable annual pension from Louis XI.⁵⁷ The commemoration of a specific historical event in such a location is highly unusual; this suggests that Edward personally requested it, believing it a pivotal moment in his reign. The increase in royal revenue this brought may have provided funding for the new chapel and the visual pun of literally “sitting” on France, may also have appealed to Edward IV. Edward, in the centre of the right-hand supporter, appears armed, bearing his sword aloft. His victorious stance contrasts with Louis XI in the left-hand supporter, wearing civilian clothes, who is led by three soldiers onto the bridge. The representation of this scene may have been influenced by French depictions of bridges. An example of comparable images may be found in the illuminations created for the manuscript of the *Life of St Denis*, presented to Phillipe V of France in 1317.⁵⁸ **III. 35** The use of the portcullised doorway as a framing device for the figures in the left hand supporter of the misericord is found in several of the illuminations in this French manuscript.⁵⁹ In addition, the relative pictorial space accorded to the depiction of the bridge and water below, and the figural composition above – about one-third bridge to two-thirds people – correlates to the division of pictorial space in the French manuscript. The visual source for the misericord is not known, but it is possible that it may have had a French origin, perhaps being based on a sketch of the event. Conducting important meetings on bridges was risky after the 1407 meeting at which John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, had murdered Louis, duke of Orleans. The increased security measures used here – indicated by the creation of a barrier between the two monarchs so that they could

⁵⁶ H. M. McCracken (ed.), *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (London, 1934), part ii., pp. 623-624.

⁵⁷ A. R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), p. 35.

⁵⁸ V. W. Egbert, *On the Bridges of Mediaeval Paris: A Record of Early Fourteenth-Century Life* (Princeton, 1974).

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, fig. I, p. 2. The presentation of the *Life of St. Denis* to King Phillipe. Paris, BN MS fr. 2090-2092, 1, f. 4 v.

meet but not touch – no doubt reflect the memory of this act and go some way towards authenticating the identification of this scene as the Picquigny event.⁶⁰

On Edward's return from Picquigny, he was greeted with acclaim by the city of London, as Henry V had been on his return from Agincourt, when spectacular pageants put on by the city of London were recorded in the *Great Chronicle*.⁶¹ Describing Edward's return, the author noted how

“kyng Edward spedd hym to Engeland, Soo that upon the xxviij daye off
September he was Ressayvid at Blak heth by the mayer & his brethyr clad In
scarlet and upon v C Cytzynes all clad In a brygth murrey well horsyd & well
apparaylid, and soo conveyed hym unto London Bridge, and ffrom thens unto
westmynstyr, Offfryng at pawlys as he Rode.”⁶²

Further comparison of the debt this ceremony owed to that which greeted Henry V in 1415 may bear out this assertion that a visual relationship between Edward IV and Henry V in terms of pageantry was consciously constructed. Henry V's funeral provided the primary source for heralds preparing Edward's own funeral, and I will suggest below that this too was a consciously cultivated link.⁶³

On 20 July 1463, Edward organised perpetual prayers for his father, Richard, duke of York (d.1461) at Henry V's chantry chapel in Westminster Abbey. On 24 March 1463, York was included among those to be prayed for at Syon Abbey.⁶⁴ Syon was the Bridgettine convent founded by Henry V to which Edward IV and his wife subsequently came to bestow great preference. As benefactors they came to be honoured and remembered equally with the original founder, Henry V.⁶⁵ During Edward's own funeral ceremony, the funeral cortege rested for a night at Syon. Roger Machado, recording the funeral, noted that Edward had requested two silver gilt basins containing £10 each in silver should be donated in order that “they would pray for his soul.”⁶⁶

⁶⁰ P. de Commynes, *The Universal Spider: The Life of Louis XI of France* (ed.) P. Kendall (London, 1973), pp. 171-172. Commynes describes the physical preparations for the meeting and draws attention to the tragedy which had taken place in 1407.

⁶¹ *Great Chronicle*, f. 93-94.

⁶² *ibid.*, f. 197v.

⁶³ See below, pp. 63-64.

⁶⁴ A. Sutton and O. Visser-Fuchs, *The Reburial of Richard of York 21-30 July 1476* (Richard III Society, 1996), p. 2.

⁶⁵ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, “Royal Burials” p. 375.

⁶⁶ Account translated in *ibid.* p 390 and Sutton and Visser Fuchs, *Royal Funerals*, pp. 43-45. See also below, p. 60.

An architectural debt owed by the tomb of Edward IV to that of Henry V is apparent, suggesting that the appeal of Henry V's tomb in Westminster Abbey lingered beyond Henry VI's day. Completed c.1450, the funerary monument of Henry V is a remarkable chantry chapel which canopies with a bridge-like structure Henry's tomb below. **III. 36** Of the two vaults which form the under-surface of the chapel, that over the tomb is a lierne vault with traceried panels. The square compartment spanning the ambulatory is practically a fan vault with a stellar centre, and has a rich crown about the key.⁶⁷ **III. 37** With its use of octagonal motifs, and the traceried quatrefoil detail, it bears a stylistic correlation to that underlying the similar chapel at St George's planned by Edward IV. **III. 17b** Henry V stipulated in his will that the priest saying the mass should be visible from the church, and the west end of the chantry had evidently been kept low for this purpose.⁶⁸ Edward IV may have had a similar intention in mind – by placing his chapel over the north choir aisle, those sitting in the choir, or pilgrims visiting the relics located in the south choir aisle, would have been able to glimpse and hear the chantry priest above saying masses for Edward's soul. This would have ensured that the Yorkist founder of the chapel remained a constant presence in the building. This negotiation between seeing and being seen with the demarcation of personal space within a building, is a successful realisation of the concepts explored at St Stephen's and in Burgundian examples.

Furthermore, the architectural tracery of the west end of Henry V's chantry, especially of the canopies over the niches intended to hold sculptural figures **III. 38** may have been one of the design sources for Tresilian when forging the gates for Edward IV's tomb. **III. 5** The tracery design of Henry V's chantry is simpler and less elongated than that of the gates, but both share a delicate linear quality, and the repeated motif of the oratory window.⁶⁹

The evidence suggests that the desire to negotiate a response to the architectural practices and cultural legacy of his predecessors was a powerful motivation underlying Edward IV's decision to reconstruct St George's. This legacy was a complicated one – the glory accrued by one monarch had to be harnessed to the cultural programme of Edward IV's court, while the visual inheritance of Henry VI had to be re-appropriated and reinterpreted in order to present it as an acceptable precedent to the crowning achievements of Edward IV. Edward achieved a successful resolution between the conflicting demands by paraphrasing the former, and surpassing the latter.

⁶⁷ W. St John Hope, "The Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel of Henry V" in *Archaeologia* 62 (1913-14), p. 156.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 165.

⁶⁹ The physical relationship between the two tombs has recently been considered by Fehrman, "Chantry Chapel", p. 187.

Edward IV's Intentions for St George's

In his *Itineraries*, John Leland perceptively noticed a link between Edward's patronage, and the memory of Henry V. Describing the foundation of Fotheringhay, he described Edward IV's desire to rebuild it in terms of Edward IV being "envious of Henry V's fame".⁷⁰ Edward IV's actions at Fotheringhay also involved articulating the claims of the Yorkist dynasty against the actions of his Lancastrian predecessors. A college of priests had existed in the castle of Fotheringhay possibly prior to Edward III's grant of the castle to his son, Edmund of Langley, later first duke of York.⁷¹ In 1410 his son, Edward, petitioned the pope for the dedication to be changed to the Annunciation and All Saints, for Henry IV to be named principal founder, and for the college to come within the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lincoln.⁷² The construction of a new church for the college began shortly afterwards, and Edward was buried before the high altar after his death in 1415.⁷³ Edward's nephew and successor, Richard, duke of York took on responsibility for the completion of the chapel, drawing up a contract for the building of the nave with William Horwood, freemason, in 1434.⁷⁴ On succeeding to the throne in 1461, Edward IV granted the castle to his mother Cecily, where she lived until 1469.⁷⁵ In February, 1462, he formally re-founded Fotheringhay to pray for the souls of his ancestors including his father, Richard of York, and his brother, Edmund, earl of Rutland.⁷⁶ Edward, according to Leland, was "responsible for some of the buildings, and had the body of his father brought there from Pontefract to be buried on the north side of the high altar, where his mother was also buried, in a vault with an attractive chapel over it".⁷⁷ His father and brother, killed at the battle of Wakefield in 1460, had previously lain in a grave in Pontefract.

The ritual re-interment of Edward's relatives was one of the most lavish of Yorkist courtly ceremonies and touched the heart of Yorkist dynastic pretensions.⁷⁸ Edward used this occasion to affirm his right to the throne through his father. The obsequies included the use of

⁷⁰ J. Chandler (ed.), *John Leland's Itineraries: Travels in Tudor England* (Stroud, 1993), p. 323.

⁷¹ A. Hamilton-Thompson, "The Statutes of the College of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay" in *Archaeological Journal* 75 (1918), p. 244.

⁷² R. Marks, "The Glazing of Fotheringhay Church and College" in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* CXXXI (1978), p. 79.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 80.

⁷⁴ This is printed in E.G. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art Volume I: The Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1957).

⁷⁵ Marks, "Glazing of Fotheringhay", p. 81.

⁷⁶ *CChR: VI*, pp. 167-171.

⁷⁷ Chandler, *Leland's Itineraries*, p. 323.

⁷⁸ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Reburial*, discuss the ceremony.

royal arms on the trappings of the horses drawing the funeral chariot. An effigy of the duke was the focus of the ceremony – a privilege usually only reserved for a king or bishop – which was described by narrative accounts as having its face uncovered and its eyes open to look up at an image of Christ in judgement. An angel dressed in white held a crown “behind [the effigy’s head] and not on it”.⁷⁹ The visual imagery stressed Richard’s unrealised claim to the crown, and through his father, Edward’s legitimate place as an English king.

The evidence provided by his patronage of Fotheringhay suggests that as an architectural patron, Edward IV was motivated by a bid for “Remembraunce” after his death. Clearly in 1476 Edward IV was thinking in terms of visual props to bolster the Yorkist dynasty’s claims to the throne, and using funerary rituals and tomb sculpture in order to achieve this. He would have been well aware of the Lancastrian bias of Westminster Abbey as a location for royal tombs, but in the new Chapel of St George, he would lie interred as the founder of a future line of Yorkist monarchs. The construction of a new aisled chapel at Windsor created a space well suited to accommodate numerous tombs, and maximised the range of options for physical and visual interaction with those tombs by visitors to the chapel. The chapel would provide a new meeting place for the Knights of the Garter, one of the most prestigious and longest-surviving European orders of chivalry, and ceremonies in the chapel would therefore be attended by leading English and European nobles. These visitors would witness the splendid tomb Edward IV had planned. As a newly built home for the College of St George, the chapel would be in daily use, ensuring the continued gratitude of the college to the monarch who had funded the building. Provision for pilgrims to visit the chapel would ensure his visual legacy penetrated through the social categories of individuals in late medieval England.

Consideration of the terms of Edward IV’s will reinforces this reading of his intentions. The provisions for his funerary monument are well known and much studied.⁸⁰ The request for a tomb slab “Wrought with the figure of Dethe with scochyns of oure Armes and writings convenient aboute the bordures of the same remembering the day and yere of oure decease” suggests an iconographically striking tomb for a king.⁸¹ This was to be placed in the north choir aisle. Above in the oratory / chantry chapel was to be a tomb decorated with a life-size, gilded effigy.⁸² The fifteenth-century vogue for transi tombs juxtaposing a worm-eaten cadaver or image of an emaciated corpse with the traditional arrangement of gilded

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸⁰ Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii, pp. 381-383 and pp. 418-419, Fehrman, “Chantry Chapel”, pp. 177-191, and Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Royal Burials*, pp. 93-110.

⁸¹ S. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica* (London, 1881), pp. 366-367.

⁸² *ibid.*

effigy accompanied by sculpted weepers and armorial decoration, represents a revision of the self confident formula of earlier centuries. The decision on the part of a monarch to choose such an image is unusual, but high-ranking ecclesiastics had come to favour such tombs in the fifteenth century. In 1437, Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, founded All Souls' College, Oxford, for the maintenance of certain persons to pray for the souls of the faithful in general, and more particularly, for the soul of the founder. One of the obligations of the fellows at All Souls' was to provide £7 a year for the maintenance of his Canterbury tomb.⁸³ This two-tiered monument had been erected by 1427, and consists of a polychromed effigy above, shown in full pontificals, with an emaciated corpse below. **III. 39** An inscription engraved in brass runs around the structure:

“I was a pauper born, then to primate here raised, now I am cut down and
served up for worms...behold my grave. Whoever you may be who will
pass by, I ask for your remembrance, you who will be like me after you
die: horrible in all things, dust, worms, vile flesh.”

This is written in high clerical Latin, which serves to reinforce to the viewer that Chichele, as founder of All Souls', was a *litteratus*, but the image of death as a leveller was one which would have been appreciated by all.⁸⁴

Edward visited Canterbury several times during his reign, and may have been the donor of a stained glass window to the cathedral showing himself and his family.⁸⁵ He stopped at Canterbury on 7th June 1475 when preparing for his invasion of France:⁸⁶ around the same time, he prepared his will at Sandwich, taking pains to ensure that in the event of his death, St George's would be completed under the supervision of Bishop Beauchamp. He ordered that the issues and profits from lands which had come into his hands through the minority of the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire and through the attainder of Sir Thomas Tresham, should be used for that purpose.⁸⁷ The proximity of the visit to Canterbury, the making of his will, and the commencement of work on St George's suggests that Chichele's tomb may have influenced his own choice of iconography. Furthermore, the sentiment underlying Chichele's inscription has its corollary in the lament composed for Edward IV, where the author concludes with the lines:

“I have pleyd my pagent and now am I past,

⁸³ K. Cohen, *The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (California, 1973), p. 68.

⁸⁴ P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), p. 145.

⁸⁵ R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages* (London, 1993), p. 206. M. H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*: CVMA, Great Britain, vol. ii., (London, 1981) posits the suggestion that Archbishop Bourchier rather than Edward IV may have been the patron of this window, p. 261. See also below, Chapter Two.

⁸⁶ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 222. See also below, Chapter Two.

⁸⁷ Schofield, *Life and Reign*, vol. ii., p. 432.

I wyll that ye wytt I was off no grett elde.
 Butt all thing consumeth att the last,
 Whan deth apperith lost ys the feld.
 Sith this world no lenger up-held
 Mo, conservyg to me my place.
 In manus tuas, domine, my sprite up I yeld;
 Humbley I be-sech the off they grace!
 And ye corteys commyners, with your hert umbrace
 Benyngly to pray for me also,
 As I forsaysd, your kyng I was
 Et ecce nunc in puluere dormio.”⁸⁸

This author identifies the potential audience for such a tomb, and the impact it was intended to make on them. He notes how courtiers and commoners would have been expected to pray for Edward IV, and correctly identifies the juxtaposition of pious sentiment with the bid for memory and honour, which may have underlain Edward’s choice of such a striking visual iconography. Edward stopped short of commissioning the *memento mori* inscription favoured by Chichele and the poem’s author, requesting instead a simple commemorative sentence confirming the date of his death.

It is possible that Edward may have drawn inspiration from further afield for his funerary monument. Certainly the plans for St George’s reveal an awareness of architectural patronage undertaken by Burgundian nobles and courtiers,⁸⁹ if Edward’s role as a patron who took all his inspiration from Burgundian examples may have been overstated. Contemporary too with Edward’s unusual tomb was the monument undertaken by King René of Anjou and his first wife, Isabeau of Lorraine, in the Cathedral of St Maurice, Angers. Located opposite the altar of St René, they commissioned a double tomb to match the form of the altar in black marble, which was underway in 1447.⁹⁰ The tomb was placed against the wall, and the three visible sides were decorated with pillars, relief sculpture and the arms of Anjou and Lorraine. On the top of the pedestal were placed the statues of René and Isabeau, in white marble; the crowns and sceptre were added in gilded copper. The part of the monument located in the aisle was thus of an orthodox character. However, painted on the wall above the monument, was an image of the king as a skeletal corpse, crowned and arrayed in regal robes but

⁸⁸ Brown, *Religious Lyrics*, p. 253.

⁸⁹ Fehrman, “Chantry Chapel”, pp. 186-187. M. Vale, “An Anglo Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron: Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester” in Barron and Saul (ed.), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 115-132.

⁹⁰ A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Le Roi René* (Paris, 1875), vol. ii., p. 20; F. Robin, *La Cour D’Anjou-Provence: La vie artistique sous la règne de René* (Paris, 1985), pp. 231-234.

collapsing on the seat of power, with his foot thrusting aside the sceptre, and the orb slipping from his hands. A chequered history hindered the completion of the monument, and it has been suggested that the painting could not have been begun before 1472.⁹¹ In 1481, the tomb received the body of René, interred with all the solemnity appropriate for a king and recorded by Balthasar Hirtenhaus, councillor and controller of finances, in order that it might be preserved in the archives at Aix.⁹² The process of recording the funerary ritual is comparable to that undertaken at the funeral of Edward IV, and reflects a similar recognition that court rituals should be recorded in order to provide something for future generations to refer back to. It seems likely, given Edward IV's evolving relationship with the psychological and visual legacy of his predecessor, Henry VI, that Edward would have been aware of the artistic output of the father of England's former queen, Margaret of Anjou. After Edward IV's accession, Queen Margaret was kept in strict confinement at Windsor until 1471 and then at Wallingford until 1475. In 1475 ransom terms were concluded with Louis XI of France in 1475, when it was agreed he would pay 50,000 crowns to Edward IV, and in return, Margaret could retire to France. Margaret died in 1481 and was buried in her father's tomb at Angers.⁹³ This unusual tomb may have been a source for Edward IV, who was no stranger to innovative solutions, and was not necessarily considering a recumbent effigy. He would no doubt have also been aware of the kneeling image of Louis XI, planned for the French king's tomb from 1472; Margaret of York later also commissioned a tomb with two effigies, one dead and shrouded and the other as she was in life, in which she knelt and was presented to God by her name saint.⁹⁴

These tombs present a visual dichotomy juxtaposing traditional use of splendour in order to mark royal tombs out as distinctive, with the newly articulated sentiment to bid for prayers through the iconography of human mortality. The combination enriches the viewing process. It is possible to situate them within the context of particularly lavish funeral monuments commissioned by the wealthiest, most powerful patrons motivated by a desire to splendidly surpass traditional precedents. Edward's interest in the tomb of Henry V has already been discussed. In addition, he was likely to have been well aware of the lavish tomb of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, in the Lady Chapel of St Mary's, Warwick, which clearly exercised an appeal for Henry VI.⁹⁵ Commenced in 1443 and completed in 1469 (although the body was not moved to the chapel until 1475), at a cost of £2,400 with an additional £720 for the tomb, the chapel was a tremendously extravagant example of private

⁹¹ Marche, *René*, p. 22.

⁹² A narrative account of the funeral is included in *ibid.*, pp. 387-394.

⁹³ Schofield, *Life and Reign*, vol. ii., p. 159.

⁹⁴ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Royal Funerals*, p. 102 and p. 109.

⁹⁵ See above, p. 30.

patronage in fifteenth-century England.⁹⁶ This would have ensured its renown not only amongst patrons, but also among craftsmen of the day, who seem to have been alert to recent projects, emerging trends and developing techniques. Edward IV's stipulations for his own tomb – that the figure set upon it should be made of silver and gilt and that an inscription around the tomb should remember the day and year of his death – paraphrases the arrangement found at Warwick. In the centre of the chapel lies Beauchamp's life-size effigy, made of latten. **III. 40** It was cast by William Austen of London and covered in gold by Bartholomew Lampspring, a Dutchman. The effigy is of extraordinary quality; he looks up between his hands, marked with naturalistic veining and placed in an open position of prayer, at a roof boss of the Virgin Mary, crowned queen of Heaven. Around the top of the tomb runs an inscription recording the date of Beauchamp's death, and asking the reader to "Prieth devoutly for the sowell whom God assoile of one of the most worshipful knightes in his days of manhooode and conninge, Richard Beauchamp."⁹⁷ The sides of the monument are divided into fourteen compartments, each containing a canopied niche and the figure of a weeper, cast in latten and gilt, representing some person of rank in relation to the earl, all of whom can be identified by the enamelled shield below. The downcast eyes and sorrowful faces of those who outlived the earl are a bid to those visiting the tomb to remember this great man, reinforcing the exhortation to pray for his soul found in the inscription above.

Of course, the Beauchamp tomb does not exist in an artistic vacuum. It is more appropriate to see it as a lavish example of a tried-and-tested type than as an innovative solution to funerary monuments in itself. A life-size effigy and accompanying weepers were a commonplace feature of late medieval tombs, much imitated after Claus Sluter's expressively carved examples for Philip the Bold's tomb at Champmol near Dijon after 1404.⁹⁸ In the Beauchamp tomb, however, it is the extravagant use of materials that marks it out as distinctive from examples such as Henry V's wooden effigy, covered in plates of silver. But in Edward's tomb, the effigy was to be placed in the chapel above and would only have been accessible to members of the household and his chantry priests.⁹⁹ This implies a more sophisticated awareness of techniques by which the visual could be rationed and made to accommodate different audiences than is found in other funerary monuments. The shocking figure of death planned for the north choir aisle suggests that Edward did not wish merely to ensure salvation through lavish patronage, but that he wanted the humble, pious instinct underlying Christian practice to be apparent too. It is this sentiment he was prepared to expose to all who visited the chapel. In the light of his pious predecessor, Henry VI's,

⁹⁶ D. Brindley, *Richard Beauchamp: Medieval England's Greatest Knight* (Stroud, 2001), p. 146.

⁹⁷ Personal inspection and *ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

⁹⁸ K. Morand, *Claus Sluter: Artist at the Court of Burgundy* (London, 1991), p. 125.

⁹⁹ Fehrman, "Chantry Chapel", p. 180.

reputation, Edward may have felt that a tomb bidding for recognition purely through splendour was inappropriate, and decided to reserve the visually lavish element of the monument for those whose courtly connections might give them access to the chapel above. Edward's plan alerts us to the multi-layered sentiments which underlay the patronage of late medieval tombs, and his iconography suggests an awareness of fashionable trends in design. By combining the traditional and the new, Edward asserted to the viewer his commanding presence as the most powerful patron of his day.

The tomb was to function within the context of a building that would be used daily for liturgical practice, and frequently for court ceremonial and chivalric festivals. Taking pride of place to the north of the high altar, it is extremely likely that it also functioned as an Easter Sepulchre. The precentors' rolls of the chapel for the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries regularly record payments for string, wood and other materials for the construction of the Sepulchre, and it is evident that this would have anchored the founder firmly into ritual associated with the most holy days of the year.¹⁰⁰

In his will, Edward expressed an appreciation of the functions of processional ritual within the building:

"Item we wol that the said two prests bee discharged of keeping divine service in the Chauncell of the said College or in any other place within the said Church other than aboute oure sepulture and tumbe as afore is said, of lesse then it bee upon the principall Fests in the yere, or that the Quere goo a procession, which daies we woll thay goo a procession with the Quere weryng surplees and copes as the Vicairs there doo."¹⁰¹

Distinguishing between the ferial and festal, Edward's stipulation underlines the multi-functional purpose of the new chapel. Provided with robes for daily use individual to the chantry chapel,¹⁰² but ordered to wear surplices and copes identical to the vicars on festal or processional occasions, his chantry priests reflect Edward's exploration of concepts of separation and inclusion which informed iconographical decisions about who saw what in the building. Their robes made them distinct when they were dealing directly with the care of Edward's soul by saying chantry masses, but when they were to process with other canons of

¹⁰⁰ St George's Chapel Archives, for example, XV.56.22 and XV.56.36. This aspect of chapel life will be considered in Chapter 4, below.

¹⁰¹ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 374.

¹⁰² Bond, *Inventories*, p. 157, "For the same altar [the altar of King Edward] one chasuble of blue velvet embroidered with lilies and red roses and another black chasuble with golden edges, with other vestments necessary for them".

the college, they were to be identically clad.¹⁰³ In this context, they would have visually anchored the founder's legacy into the basic liturgical framework of the chapel, in addition to adding volume to the performance of music in the chapel and choir on these occasions.¹⁰⁴

Edward's will also made direct provision for witnesses, requesting that "nere to our Sepulture ther bee ordeigned places for xiiij personnes to sit and knele in, to say and kepe such observance divine service and praiers as we hereafter shal expresse and declare".¹⁰⁵ These are living embodiments of the weepers that decorate many medieval tombs. This too confirms Edward's understanding of the importance of "looking" in preserving his memory, and may possibly form a link with his intention to found a new meeting place for the Order of the Garter. Alms knights, mentioned in early Garter statutes, were intended by Edward III to represent Garter Knights on ordinary occasions. It is likely that it was *these* individuals who would have been required to take the place provided for thirteen weepers about the tomb, suggesting that the order rather than the college gave meaning to the whole arrangement.¹⁰⁶ The situation of Edward's tomb within the north choir aisle, and the hanging of his achievements above, accents the relationship between order and tomb. The north aisle was the main processional axis for Garter celebrations, ensuring that all Knights of the Garter would annually witness the cadaver tomb of the chapel's patron.¹⁰⁷

The function of the chapel as the home of a chivalric order highlights the visual significance of heraldry and personal badges within the chapel. Edward IV's sunbeam emblem was worked into the fabric of the chapel from its very inception, appearing on cornicing, on roof bosses and decorating the cloths which were to adorn his altar.¹⁰⁸ Offset against the grey stone, temporary banners and enamelled brass stall plates hung in the choir provided an impressive display of polychromy. These different mediums – painted fabrics, enamel on brass, embroidered copes – became essential components of the visual material within the building. On election to the order, the stall of a Garter Knight was personalised by the fixing of a brass stall plate, and possibly by the flying of a heraldic banner above.¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰³ The provision for chantry priests and masses is a usual feature of late medieval wills. This particular stipulation regarding the use of different vestments in procession, however, is unusual. Cf. J. Nichols, *A Collection of Wills Now Known to be Extant of All the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780). The will of the John Holland, duke of Exeter, (d. 1447) for example, stipulates too that his chantry priests should "be bounde to the queer in all dowble fests of the yere", but he makes no prior provision for a change of dress on these occasions, p. 287.

¹⁰⁴ This will be explored further in Chapter Four.

¹⁰⁵ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 373.

¹⁰⁶ Kidson, "Architecture of Saint George's Chapel", p. 30.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter Three below, p. 181.

¹⁰⁸ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁹ P.J. Begent and H. Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter 650 years* (London, 1999), p. 55.

use of heraldry allowed other people to stamp temporary ownership on a particular space, and its subsequent removal records changing circumstances of individuals important in the history of the chapel. The Basset Stall Plate, commemorating Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton who was elected to the Order of the Garter in 1358, still survives in memory of this individual's achievements. Its high quality enamelling, and irregular outline distinguish it from later plates affixed to the back of the choir stalls.¹¹⁰ **III. 13**

Certain objects, however, appear to have had fixed places within the building from the outset. It is likely that their placement may link in with Edward's intention to create a space in which the College of St George could carry out their daily liturgical practice, and to his bid to develop St George's Chapel as a pilgrimage destination. In this context, other precious figures within chapels of which Edward would have been well aware, may provide an illustrative example of the way revered images could lure the laity into a building. There was a venerated image of the Virgin in the Chapel of Our Lady of the Pew in St Stephen's Chapel, before which Richard II is recorded as having prayed.¹¹¹ Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, bequeathed to the collegiate church in Warwick an image of the Virgin "in pure gold, there to remain forever".¹¹² Henry VI ordered a new image of the Virgin for the high altar at Eton. John Massingham was paid £10 for making it and Robert Hickling £6 for painting it.¹¹³ These foundations are dedicated to (or share a dedication to) the Virgin. The presence of important images of Our Lady within is to be expected, partly in order to provide a focus for late medieval burgeoning devotion to the Virgin. At Windsor, the image of Our Lady given to the chapel by Henry III and refashioned for Henry V probably took pride of place beside the high altar in the new chapel.¹¹⁴ This re-presentation of a key image with a historical connection to the founder confirms Edward IV's appreciation of the importance of the old, whose efficacy was proven by centuries of veneration, as an anchor to what was new and fashionable.

The likely more open distribution of relics around the new Chapel of St George suggests that dispersal of visually significant moments around the building was central to his intentions. St George's had owned the indulgenced relic of the True Cross since Edward III

¹¹⁰ Begent, Cherry and Goodall, "The Basset Stall-Plate", pp. 132-136.

¹¹¹ Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel*, p. 7.

¹¹² W. Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London, 1730), vol. ii., p. 411. His will was dated 8 August, 1435.

¹¹³ Willis and Willis Clark, *Architectural History*, vol. i., p. 402.

¹¹⁴ It was still there in 1552, when the indenture of plate received from the Chapel by Edward VI's commissioners, described it as "oone greate image of our Ladye of silver and guilt, the silver and guilt two thousand sixteen ounces di.". Bond, *Inventories*, p. 217.

had donated it in 1348,¹¹⁵ and its commemoration within the fabric of St George's indicates that it remained the key relic in the building. For Edward IV, this relic in particular was likely to be promoted for Henry VI had donated a fragment of the True Cross to Eton, contained in the "Tablet of Burboyn", in 1447. This appears to have been a golden tablet, in a box adorned with silk and gold containing

"several relicks of inestimable value, especially of the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we obtain the gift of life and salvation, and a fragment of the salutiferous wood of the Cross of our Lord which leads us to a grateful remembrance of our redemption, and also of the glorious Virgin Mary his mother and of his most blessed confessor, Nicholas, and of Katherine the Virgin, and of other Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins";¹¹⁶

The motivation underlying this gift is expressed later in the document:

"That the aforesaid precious and reverent relicks, there perpetually to remain to the praise of God and their own immortal magnificence, might by the faithful servants of Christ with the greater reverence for ever be worshipped, and moreover, as is becoming, in greater numbers and more festively";¹¹⁷

Underlying Henry's donation of this "principal relic"¹¹⁸ to Eton was his desire to attract pilgrims to the building, suggested by the reference to "greater numbers". Pilgrimage at Eton, testified to by the survival of several pilgrim badges of the Assumption of Our Lady,¹¹⁹ probably also prompted Edward's decision to develop St George's as a pilgrimage site.¹²⁰

This was realized in more concrete ways by the acquisition of indulgences. Edward IV used the duke of Urbino, Federigo da Montefeltro, elected to the Order of the Garter in 1476, to acquire the grant of an indulgence for St George's from Sixtus IV in 1476.¹²¹ This

¹¹⁵ Previously this had been located in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel*, p. 111.

¹¹⁶ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 43.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹¹⁹ B. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* (London, 1998), p. 148.

¹²⁰ In 1478, Edward purchased from the duke of Suffolk, "an elaborate jewel, with an image of Our Lady in gold with Our Lord in her arms and the image of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Catherine on either side of Our Lady and two other images with seven angels thereto pertaining", garnished with great numbers of precious stones, at a cost of £160, which may have been intended for Windsor. This act may consciously emulate Henry VI's gift to Eton. Schofield, *Life and Reign*, vol. ii., p. 433. For the activity of pilgrims in the chapel, see Chapter Four, below.

¹²¹ CPL: 1471-84, part i., p. 240. Edward's interest in bringing lay visitors into Royal Chapels is indicated by his securing of another indulgence for St Mary of the Pew at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.

incorporated a plenary indulgence for all who “being penitent and confessed, visit the said Chapel on the feast of the Assumption, from the first vespers till sunset on that day, for two years from the expiration of the time of the Jubilee indulgence”.¹²² This was reconfirmed in 1479¹²³ and the text of an earlier indulgence for that year stipulates the personal spiritual advantages to Edward of acquiring indulgences:

“Relaxation in perpetuity of two years and two quarantines of enjoined penance to all faithful whenever they visit the church of St Mary and SS. George the martyr...and say therein the Lord’s Prayer and an Ave Maria...for the prosperity of Edward King of England, his mother, wife and children and for the souls of his father and other predecessors, and after death for the souls of the said king, mother, wife and children...”¹²⁴

The juxtaposition of this, with the piety-provoking iconography of his cadaver tomb, highlights the desirability of maximising the range of audiences for a tomb, and suggests that receiving the prayers of pilgrims was one of Edward IV’s central intentions.¹²⁵

The St George’s intended by Edward IV represented the apotheosis of Yorkist dynastic architecture. As the first monarch for generations to leave the exchequer in profit,¹²⁶ Edward had both the financial means, and a mature grasp of the ability of the visual to articulate pious and political sentiments, to embark on large scale architectural projects.¹²⁷ Although his patronage of Fotheringhay was inspired by similar motivations, there is no evidence that Edward IV considered this as a site for his own tomb. It seems unlikely that Fotheringhay would have been deemed a suitably honorific location for the tomb of a monarch. Articulated in response to the problematic Lancastrian legacy Edward acquired with his usurpation of the throne, the design of St George’s negotiated key visual elements of that legacy and translated these into an architectural language which embraced Burgundian, French and the best of late medieval English art forms. The result was a unique and visually fashionable resolution to Edward’s desire to bolster Yorkist dynastic claims. At the conceptual and iconographical heart of the new building lay the design for Edward’s tomb.

¹²² *ibid.*, p. 240.

¹²³ *ibid.*, p. 8.

¹²⁴ *CPL: 1471-84*, part ii., p. 667.

¹²⁵ Henry VII acquired the De Scala Coeli indulgence for St George’s in 1496 at the time he was considering burial there, close to the bones of his saintly predecessor, Henry VI. This reflects a comparable motivation to inspire prayers from the faithful to ensure his salvation in the next world. N. Morgan, “The Scala Coeli Indulgence and the Royal Chapels” in B. Thompson (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stanford, 1995).

¹²⁶ Myers, *Household of Edward IV*, p. 11.

¹²⁷ For examples of the impact of Burgundian exile on Edward’s artistic patronage, see Backhouse, “Founders of the Royal Library”; McKendrick, “Edward IV: an English Collector of Netherlandish Tapestry” in *The Burlington Magazine* CXXIX (1987); Vale, “An Anglo Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron”.

The location of this in a key position within the north choir aisle gave visual coherence to a structure which would be utilised by members of the college, court officials, Knights of the Garter, and ordinary pilgrims.

Placing the tomb of Edward as an integral part of the design of the choir of St George's, however, suggests that subsequent actions on the part of Richard III must have brought an iconographical imbalance into the building. His decision to transfer the tomb of Henry VI to Windsor in 1484 brings a problematic paradox into this reading of the chapel as a Yorkist mausoleum. After this event, pilgrims who came to the chapel were attracted there by the tomb of Henry VI, suggesting that when they entered into the building they were "looking" in a way very different to that Edward had intended. The contradictions this introduced into Yorkist iconography, and the success of Edward IV's vision in spite of subsequent changes, will be explored in Chapter Four.

Ceremonial Use of the Space

Edward IV's Chapel of St George created a new ceremonial venue for the English court. In order to appreciate fully the spatial potential the new chapel offered, it is necessary to consider the developing centrality of visually spectacular ceremony to the late medieval and early Tudor court. This has long caught the attention of historians, yet the wealth of evidence for the visual trappings of such ceremony has not been adequately explored by those interested primarily in the visual. By attempting to understand the visual coherence of ceremony that took place in the chapel under Edward IV and Henry VII, we can appreciate to what extent the need to accommodate ceremonies dictated the finished appearance of the chapel. In seeking to recreate the visual coherence of ceremonies in the chapel, and by thinking about what a witness to a particular ceremony actually saw, it is also possible to identify certain ways in which traditional rituals could be manipulated to meet the constraints and opportunities imposed by a specific architectural space. We are privileged to have surviving detailed accounts of two important ceremonies which took place in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the chapel. The first of these describes one of the earliest ceremonial rituals to take place in St George's (before the chapel itself reached completion) – that is the funeral of its founder, Edward IV, in 1483. The second is the investiture of King Philip of Castile to the Order of the Garter in 1506. Both were ceremonies moulded by tradition, but both shared features which distinguished them from earlier comparable rituals. Some of these unusual aspects arose from adapting the ritual to maximise the potential of the chapel, some appear to have been related to particular political considerations, while others most likely reflected changing ceremonial structures taking place in other European courts.

The funeral service of Edward IV will be examined to see what information it yields about his personal intentions for the space: the investiture of Philip of Castile will be considered in Chapter Three, when I come to consider how the space was made particular to the needs of the Order of the Garter.

The sources for Edward's funeral are narrative rather than visual, but it may be possible to draw comparisons between these and other similar rituals on the basis of surviving manuscript illuminations, for numerous miniatures record royal funerary rituals. Those detailing the funerals of the royal house of France are particularly useful sources for providing visual evidence about the construction of processions, and for treatment of the body of the deceased. A miniature, dating from c.1461, and retrospectively showing the funerary procession of Charles VI of France to the Abbey of St Denis in 1422, indicates the main features of the ritual.¹²⁸ **III. 41** The coffin is shown draped in a black cloth, embroidered with gold detail, under which the feet of those bearing the coffin on their shoulders are just visible. On top of the coffin lies the effigy – an image of Charles VI himself – shown wearing his coronation robes and carrying an orb and sceptre. Once in the choir of the abbey, the coffin would be placed inside a hearse, similar to that shown in the miniature recording the funeral obsequies of Anne of Brittany in 1514.¹²⁹ **III. 42** There the elaborate wooden construction, decorated with her coats of arms, includes five principals (the main columns supporting the structure and the central peak on top). Lit candles are placed on and around the hearse and the most important mourners in the funeral procession – most likely family, and household members – sit inside the structure, closest to the coffin, wearing mourning robes. The miniature indicates the visual features that were deemed to be important – the richness of the cloths of estate, the number of mourners, the presence of banners and candles – and help to draw attention to some of the features of Edward IV's funeral which were likely to have been planned in detail.

The very detailed accounts of the funeral of Edward IV are the literary corollary to such illuminated examples. Of the several surviving versions, five appear to be copies of an original text found in the College of Arms MS 1.7, ff. 7-8v.¹³⁰ The only substantially different text is a taken from College of Arms MS Arundel 51.¹³¹ The former of these accounts is an anonymous eyewitness account of the proceedings, most likely recorded by a herald

¹²⁸ R. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960), pl. 8. From Paris, BN MS 5051, f.27v.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, pl. 11.

¹³⁰ This was first printed in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* (ed.) J. Gairdner (Rolls Series, 1861), vol. i., pp. 3-10.

¹³¹ This has recently been translated and printed by A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs "Royal Burials", pp. 387-392. It has been reprinted in their study of Yorkist burials, *Royal Funerals*, pp. 32-46.



witnessing the events. He detailed the structure of the ceremony, and recorded those attending the funeral. The text unfortunately breaks off mid-way through recording the order in which individuals offered to the altar during the funeral. The latter text is an eyewitness account taken from the journals of Roger Machado, Leicester herald c.1483.¹³² It is written in French, is imperfect at the beginning and is less detailed than the former text. It does, however, continue beyond the point at which the earlier text breaks off, informing us about the conclusion of the ceremony.

Both are particularly rich descriptions, and we should consider why such detailed records of these ceremonies survive. As records of significant moments in English court life, it is in some respects unsurprising that they exist, but the process of recording the visual in such detail is not one which should be taken for granted. Giesey has demonstrated how at the funeral of Charles VI, there was considerable debate over the manner in which to conduct the ceremony, since it had been forty-two years since the last French king's funeral, and that ceremony and earlier ones were only very briefly described in chronicles.¹³³ For the conduct of English royal funerals, organisers could have recourse to the late fourteenth century *Liber Regalis* – the book recording the English coronation order and the ritual of royal funerals dating from c.1390.¹³⁴ A miniature shows a king's body, prepared according to the protocol outlined in the accompanying text, in order to lie in state. **III. 43** Similar to the treatment of the effigy shown in the French miniatures, the body reposes on a bier, dressed in the coronation regalia, over which is placed an architectural hearse-like canopy. The keen observation found in these sources contrasts with the relative lack of visual sophistication found in other chronicle sources. The *Great Chronicle of London*, for example, records simply that

“In this mayers tyme on ix.th day of Aprill dyed the excellent prince kyng Edward the ffowyrth at his palays of westmynstyr when he hadd Regnyd the ffull of xxij. Yeris and as moch as ffrom the iiij.th day of march unto the abovesaid ix.th day of aprill, whoos Corpse was afftyr conveyed with due honour unto the Castell of wyndyssore and there buried in a tumb made of Towch Stoon that he toffore had prevyded for”.¹³⁵

Again, nothing of the lavish procession which constituted the funerary cortege for Edward IV's body on its journey from Westminster to Windsor is commented upon.

¹³² He later became Richmond herald in 1485, Norroy in 1491 and Clarencieux in 1493.

¹³³ Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, p. 99.

¹³⁴ London, Westminster Abbey MS 38, ff. 33v-34. P. Binski, “The Liber Regalis: Its Date and European Context” in D. Gordon, L. Monnas and C. Elam (ed.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997), pp. 233-246.

¹³⁵ *Great Chronicle*, p. 229.

Knowledge of some northern European funerals derives from manuscript compilations of funerary procedures, which seem to have begun to be collected from the later fifteenth century onwards. An early example of such a compilation is a manuscript in the Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, which contains accounts of the funerals of Louis de Mâle (1384) and of Gérard de Mortagne, lord of Espierres, Caurines and Chin (1391).¹³⁶ The existence of such compilations, becoming popular at around the same time that Edward IV's funeral was so minutely observed, suggests a growing professionalisation of the process of observing ritual. Increasingly royal ceremony was organised by heralds, who recognised the importance of recording in minute detail the structure of ceremonies in order to leave a record for future generations. Their accounts betray a growing court preoccupation with visual ways of annexing traditions, and expressing hierarchical relationships between different members of the court.

Scrutiny of the visual filtered into different classes of narrative evidence at different rates. The authors of the *Great Chronicle* may not have been particularly sensitive to the visual, but even early in the fifteenth century, a growing engagement with visual forms can be detected in the works of some chroniclers. Describing the funerary rituals which took place for Charles VI when his procession reached Paris in 1422, the anonymous author of *A Parisian Journal* was very alert to the extraordinary visual quality of the ceremony:

“It [the coffin] was borne in just the same way that our lord's body is borne on the feast of Corpus Christi, with a gold canopy above it carried on four or six poles. His servants bore it on their shoulders, at least thirty of them, for it was very heavy it is said. It was a good six feet tall, lying on its back in a bed, the face, or the likeness of the face, uncovered, wearing a gold crown and holding two fingers: these were gilded and so long that they reached the crown.”¹³⁷

Education and occupation most likely go somewhat towards explaining what kind of chronicler would be more aware of the visual – it seems that this anonymous author may have been a member of the church of Notre Dame, for example, and therefore in a good place to witness the pageantry.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, the process of a lay individual recording this in such

¹³⁶ MS CC. 100 f. 4r.-7v. cited in M. Vale “A Burgundian Funeral Ceremony: Olivier de la Marche and the Obsequies of Adolf of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein” in *English Historical Review* 111 (1996), p. 922.

¹³⁷ *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449*, translated from the anonymous French *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* by J. Shirley (Oxford, 1968), p. 181.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 14.

detail may imply that developing appreciation of the visual quality of rituals was not confined to court circles.

The Funeral of Edward IV

The report of the anonymous herald begins with an account of how, historically, kings' bodies should be treated after their deaths.¹³⁹ He informs us that the face should be covered by a handkerchief while the body was dressed. A sceptre should then be placed in one hand, while the other arm should be placed across the belly. The body should lie in state for two days before being embalmed, following which the body should be wrapped in cloths and placed in a coffin marked with a plaque showing the name and the date of the monarch's death. An effigy should be constructed which replicated the original image of the king lying in state, clothed in a "surcoate with mantill of estat, the laices goodly lying on his bely, his septur in his hand, and his crown upon his head". The effigy should then be placed upon the coffin in a chariot, which should be draped with "dyvers trapers" or else black cloths on which were embroidered coats of arms. Another lord or knight should dress as the king, wearing a mantle of his coat of arms, and bearing the king's helmet, shield and spear, who could represent the king himself when his achievements were offered to the altar. This broadly outlines the well established practice at English and French funerals. Funeral effigies had been used in England from the time of Edward II, when it has been suggested that the defaced appearance of the king made the use of a substitute image for the body advisable.¹⁴⁰ The practice of encouraging one of the king's knights to dress up and offer the monarch's achievements had been the custom in France from about the end of the fourteenth century and was also a common feature of English royal funerary ritual. The most extreme example of this practice seems to have occurred at the funeral of Bertrand du Guesclin in 1389 when four knights wearing his armour, took part in the ceremony. When required to make the offering, they came up to the altar, followed by four other mounted knights who were carrying du Guesclin's banners. This group was a visual stand-in for the deceased making his own offering to the church at his own funeral.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ *Letters and Papers*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Kantorowicz, *Two Bodies*, p. 420. For an overview of the use of effigies in the funerals of English Monarchs, see W. St John Hope, "On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England with special notes to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster" in *Archaeologia* 60 (1907) part ii., pp. 517-570.

¹⁴¹ Kantorowicz, *Two Bodies*, p. 90. See also below, p. 59.

The author then turned his attention to the circumstances of Edward IV's funeral. These appear to have differed in some respects from orthodox procedure, as is indicated by his opening comment:

"But when that noble king, Edward the iiij., was deceased....first the corps was laide upon a burde, all naked saving he was covered from the navyll to the kneys, and so laie x. or xij. oures that all the lordys bothe spirituall and temporall, then being in London or nere ther abowt, and the maier of London with his brether sawe hym so lying."¹⁴²

The author cites no reason for the body not being dressed in the ordinary manner before it was to lie in state. The body was then embalmed and encased in a coffin, which was placed in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. Three masses were celebrated – the mass of Our Lady, the mass of the Trinity and the mass of requiem, following which dirges and commendations were sung. Finally the holy psalter was recited. Overnight the body was watched by servants and other nobles. The same order appears to have been kept in the chapel on successive days "saving that after the first day ther was but one solempne masse wich was always songon by a bishop".¹⁴³

One week later, the body was moved to Westminster Abbey, borne by knights and squires.¹⁴⁴ Upon the coffin was placed a "riche and large clothe of gold with a cross of white clothe of gold above", above that "a riche canopy of clothe imperiall frynged with gold and blewe silk" was held by four knights.¹⁴⁵ At each corner a banner was carried, the first of the Holy Trinity, the second of Our Lady, the third of St George, and the fourth of St Edward the Confessor. The king's banner was carried by Lord Howard, in front of the coffin. The initial part of the procession, therefore, corresponded in substance to the kind of procession shown in the miniature recording the funeral of Charles VI. **III. 41**

The procession around the coffin was made up of ecclesiastics and temporal lords. Of the latter, the earl of Lincoln, Edward IV's nephew, processed first, taking the part of chief mourner. Once the procession arrived in Westminster Abbey, an effigy of the king was laid on top of the coffin described by the herald as "like to the similitude of the king in habet royall crowned with the crown oon his hede, holding in one hand the septur, and in the other hand a ball of sliver and gilt with a crosse pate".¹⁴⁶ This is the first mention made of the effigy, and it seems therefore unlikely that it was placed on the coffin prior to its arrival in

¹⁴² *Letters and Papers*, p. 4.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 5. These are listed individually.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *Letters and Papers*, p. 6.

Westminster Abbey. Once in the abbey, the coffin and effigy were placed in a hearse, perhaps similar to the one constructed for Anne of Brittany. A mass was heard, and certain lords who had taken up a position inside the hearse, closest to the coffin, offered to the altar, followed by the bishop and the mayor of London.

The following day, the coffin and effigy were placed on a chariot covered with black velvet, and a black cloth of gold with a white cross of gold was placed over the coffin. Within, the chariot was lined with a majesty cloth. This cloth – a depiction of Christ in Judgement displaying his wounds and sitting on a rainbow – was placed above the open eyes of the effigy of the king.¹⁴⁷ This highlights an interesting curiosity in the burial of Edward IV. A lifelike effigy, which could be worshipped as if it were the king himself, was actually intended to represent the body politic. But the cloth of majesty, placed above the effigy in the chariot and visible to onlookers, (the rainbow making a colourful contrast to the black drapes on the chariot, and therefore likely to be noticed) offered the image of the Last Judgement to the eyes of the effigy. It is likely that the theme of Last Judgement in this context was meant partly for the deceased monarch, Edward IV, personally. This suggests that Kantorowicz's identification of effigy with the body politic is an over-simplification¹⁴⁸ – it was after all meant to be a likeness (our herald says "similitude") of Edward IV himself. The placing of the majesty cloth above the open eyes of the effigy suggests its function was also as a visual offering for the salvation of Edward IV's soul, akin to the later offering of his knightly achievements and the whispered offerings of prayers. Something similar may have been painted over his tomb, for in 1745, Pote recorded that at the head of the tomb was "an ancient painting, being a representation of our Saviour and his Apostles, attended by the heavenly Host, but much defaced and scarce visible at present".¹⁴⁹ This may have been a majesty image akin to those found above many late medieval tombs, especially those used as Easter Sepulchres, such as the tomb of John Clopton, at Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, where there is a well preserved image of Christ, resurrected, apparently walking with a flowing cloak. **III. 44** In the funeral effigy therefore, onlookers would have witnessed a complicated iconography. They would see a human representation of an individual facing his own Last Judgement, alone, in addition to the omnipotent image of their former king bearing the regalia of the body politic.

Everything around the effigy and chariot was decorated with escutcheons of the king's arms. Between Westminster and the next stop for the body – Syon – six horses drew

¹⁴⁷ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, "Royal Burials" p. 375.

¹⁴⁸ Kantorowicz, *Two Bodies*, p. 421.

¹⁴⁹ J. Pote, *The History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle* (Eton, 1749), p. 69.

the chariot, while other knights and squires, some on horseback, gathered round the body. Once again, Lord Howard, wearing a mourning hood and riding a horse draped with black velvet decorated with royal escutcheons, bore the king's banner. The procession paused briefly at Charing Cross, so bishops could cense the coffin, and then proceeded to Syon. At the church door the coffin was again censed, before being carried into the choir. The bishop of Durham led the service, and the following day, the procession continued to Windsor "in the like order as above", stopping briefly at Eton where it was censed again, before proceeding to the castle gate.¹⁵⁰ There it was met by the canons of St George's and after being censed by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Winchester, was conveyed to the new church. The author does not comment on the church, which would still have been incomplete. It is likely that the nave walls were only a couple of metres high, and the choir, while finished, was sealed off from the main body of the church by a temporary partition, and vaulted only with a wooden roof.

On its journey from Westminster via Syon to Windsor, the coffin traversed both geographical and sacred boundaries. The act of censing the coffin before entering Syon and at the church door of Eton, imposed sacredness on the corpse and procession when in proximity to a religious foundation, thus distinguishing these moments from the general procession through town and countryside. At Windsor, the coffin was censed at the castle gate, rather than at the chapel door, where ecclesiastics and members of the college had come out to meet it. This implies an extension of the sacred territory claimed by the chapel, to the boundaries of the castle walls; the following short procession would take the dead king through the increasingly sacred zones of nave and choir, to the heart of the church. The act of moving through zones of sacred space has been frequently observed by historians of the sacred; it is noticeable here that the final journey of the king used the widest extent of sacred space claimed by the chapel, which would have been emphasised on days of significance throughout the liturgical year. On rogation days for example, a procession would operate in reverse, firstly leaving the choir of the chapel, passing through the nave, and encircling the lower ward of the castle, (or the parish boundaries in a parish context) in order to spread sanctity to the limits of the area claimed by a religious foundation.¹⁵¹

In the choir was placed a "mervelus well-wrought herse", suggesting something more visually splendid than the "goodly" hearse made at Westminster and the hearse which would have been placed in the choir at Syon, which is not mentioned by the author. The office of the dead – a dirge followed by the holy psalter – was sung. That night there was a "greate

¹⁵⁰ *Letters and Papers*, p. 7.

¹⁵¹ Rogation Days, and other liturgical processions, will be considered further in Chapter Four, below.

wache...by great lordys” some of whom again took up the honoured position within the hearse,¹⁵² proximity to the object of focus evidently marking both status, and degrees of grief, on the part of the funeral attendee. The following day the funeral proper was begun with the mass of Our Lady sung by the bishop of Durham, at which the mass penny was offered by “Sir Thomas Bourser...there being no greater estat present”, a comment which betrays the author’s interest in matters of hierarchy and precedence. Following this was the mass of the Trinity at which the earl of Huntingdon offered the mass penny, and finally the mass of requiem.

In substance, the construction of the ritual taking place at Windsor had hitherto reflected the obsequies held at Westminster Abbey, but during the requiem mass – the setting for Edward IV’s final interment – the ritual was altered in order to visually symbolise the end of this particular monarch’s reign. At the beginning of the mass of requiem, the officers of arms left the choir, and headed through the north door to the vestry “where they received a riche embroidered cote of armes, which Garter king of arms held with a great reverence as he coud with that at the hed of the herse tyll the offring tyme”.¹⁵³ As chief mourner on this final occasion, the earl of Lincoln was the first to offer the mass penny. The coat of arms was then presented to the marquess of Dorset and the earl of Huntingdon, who offered it to the altar, before returning it to Garter king of arms, who then held the offering beside the altar until the mass was finished (Machado suggests on the left side of the altar).¹⁵⁴ In the same manner, Clarencieux and Norrey kings of arms received the shield and presented it to the Lord Maltravers and the viscount of Berkeley. Following this March and Ireland kings of arms received the sword which had been given to Edward IV by Sixtus IV, and presented it to the king’s nephews, Sir John and Sir Thomas Bourser. Finally, Chester and Leicester heralds received the crown, and presented it to Lord Hastings. Following the offering of the king’s achievements, the heralds Gloucester and Buckingham, together with the pursuivants “Rougecrosse, Roseblanche, Calais, Guynes, Barwike and Harington” went to the church door to receive Sir John Cheney, master of the horse, and an individual dressed as a representation of Edward IV himself – Sir William à Parre, who had been waiting outside the church. His ceremonial role only commenced when he was invited into the space by the organisers of ceremony, the heralds themselves. Fully armed “save he was bareheaded, having an axe in his hand, the pomell downward”, he rode to the choir door, there leaving the horse, draped with a cloth impressed with the king’s arms, in the care of the deacon. As a visual personification of

¹⁵² These are again listed, *Letters and Papers*, p. 8.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 9. This comment betrays a certain degree of empathy on the part of the herald for the Garter King of Arms, trying to hold aloft a very heavy coat of arms until his moment to take part in the ceremony arrived.

¹⁵⁴ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Royal Funerals*, p. 44.

the king, his attire is significant, for it emphasised the punctuation of liturgical propriety with chivalric iconography and draws attention to chivalric intrusions into the ceremony, such as the moment at which Edward's achievements were offered to the altar. In the context of Windsor, the Garter chapel, the king was presented as a war hero – an exemplar leader to his Garter Knights, and courtly adherents. This representation of the king also links with other key iconographical aspects of the decoration of the choir, such as the Treaty of Picquigny misericord and the carving of Psalm 20, celebrating victory to the Lord's anointed.¹⁵⁵ **III. 11 and 34**

Lords Audeley and Ferrys received the man of arms, and, with the company of heralds and pursuivants, accompanied him to his offering. As a visual personification of the king, it was his right to offer first to the altar. Following this, "every lord in mourning habit [the first mention he makes of the company other than the Lord Hastings wearing mourning attire] offred for hymself" after which other nobles offered too. Finally, the author informs us that lords offered cloths of gold to the coffin, "everyche after his degree or estat, that ys to saye, therl of Lincolne by cause he was the kinges nevewe...the marques of Dorset...". He concludes by commenting that he "cannot order how they offred, by cause the prese of the people was so great bytwene them and me, but the lowest in estat or degree to the corps begane first". While listing those who made offerings, the account breaks off. His concluding comments go some way towards giving a sense of the crush of people who would have been involved in the final ceremony in the choir of St George's, and one feels the author's frustration that practicalities are preventing him from setting out in more accurate detail the matters of precedence he has paid such close attention to throughout.

Roger Machado's report provides information on the conclusion of the ceremony. His report begins at Syon, and correlates closely to that of the anonymous herald, but he provides some additional information, noting that the controller of the household (Sir William à Parr) and the treasurer (Sir John Elrington) entered into the treasury at Syon and gave a gift of silver to the monks from the king so that they would pray for his soul.¹⁵⁶ Describing the rituals during the process of interment, his account follows that outlined above, but he does include some of the more visually symbolic elements of the ritual, unlike the earlier author. Commenting on the moment at which the sword was offered to the altar, for example, he notes that "Ireland king of arms and March king of arms carried the sword with the point forward and so presented it to the two Lords Boucher, relatives of the king. And so they went to offer it; and when they had offered it the said archbishop turned it point downwards

¹⁵⁵ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Royal Funerals*, p. 27.

¹⁵⁶ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, "Royal Burials", p. 390.

and so gave it back to the said king of arms". He also notes how, after the man of arms had offered the axe at the altar, all the heralds went in proper order, "that is first the coat of arms, then the shield, then the sword and then the helmet, and they bore them to the sacristy and delivered them to the custodian [to keep] until the tomb would be ready, to place them where they should be placed".

Finally, he provides details of the concluding part of the ceremony, missing from the earlier account. He informs us that subsequently the heralds came out of the sacristy and with the nobles and knights, helped to put the coffin in the grave. The officers of his household

"that is the steward, the chamberlain, the treasurer...and the controller, all threw their staves into the king's grave to show that they were men without a master and out of office. And in the same way all the heralds threw their coats of arms, which had been the king's, into the said grave. And so first other coats of arms with the arms of England were given to the heralds which they put on, and when the said coats of arms had thus been given to them they all cried together: "The king lives! The king lives! The king lives!" and said Pater Noster and Ave Maria for the deceased".¹⁵⁷

Machado's record of the conclusion of the ceremony confirms that this traditional ritual, a feature common to English and French royal funerals, did take place at Edward IV's funeral. Giesey had commented on its symbolic significance, suggesting it was a visual analogy for the king's household abandoning their allegiance to the deceased king, which was only possible once his body had been placed in the ground. By donning new coats of arms, they, for the first time since the death of the king, acknowledged their readiness to serve his successor.¹⁵⁸

Between them, the two sources provide considerable visual information for the structure of Edward IV's funeral ceremony. It is possible to imagine, on the basis of their accounts, how the ritual would have appeared to onlookers. It seems clear that the structure of the tomb in the context of Windsor, relates to the relationship between effigy and coffin found in the funeral procession. Since the body had been embalmed and placed in the coffin, which took place ten or twelve hours after Edward IV had died, according to the anonymous herald, honour in the procession had accrued to the effigy representing the deceased king, while the mortal remains had been encased. The coffin was hidden from view firstly by a cloth of gold decorated with a cross of white cloth of gold, above which was placed a canopy on the procession from St Stephen's Chapel to Westminster Abbey. On the procession from Westminster to Windsor, the coffin was subsequently covered with a black cloth, decorated

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, pp. 126-131.

with a white cross of gold. Once the corpse reached Windsor, however, the focus was once again placed on the actual body of Edward IV. The ritual abandonment of allegiance to the deceased monarch took place over the tomb in which the body was placed – we are not told where the effigy had been removed to at this point – and it is this tomb on the north choir aisle, which was to be covered with an image of the mortality of human flesh, an “image of Dethe”.¹⁵⁹ The earlier commemorative rituals in the two weeks of funerary preparations, reflect those intended by Edward to take place in the years after his death however; these were to take place beside the lifelike representation of the king, in the chantry chapel above, with its silver-gilt effigy. The commemorative inscription referring to the day and year of his death, and the nearby place for thirteen mourners to sit and pray for the king’s soul, suggests that, underlying his design decisions, was the desire to provoke active, ongoing engagement with his tomb after his death. They also link the tomb directly with the iconography of the funeral itself.

The anonymous herald evokes visually the way in which the early part of Edward’s funeral preparations departed from precedent. His language clearly implies that he considered it unusual for Edward’s body to lie in state for the first twelve hours covered only by a modest shift-cloth from waist to knees. Yet in some ways, this unusual action reflects the similar discrepancy in the relationship between mortality and penitence on the one hand, and memory and splendour on the other, that is found both in the funeral ritual itself and in the provisions for his tomb. In the absence of supporting evidence, I would hesitate to assert that this was something stipulated by Edward IV, but the parallels it bears between the two-tiered ritual structures designed to ease disjunctures between the physical and the commemorative elements of death are nevertheless interesting.

The processional axis of the funeral ritual at Windsor was based around the north choir aisle, in which the body was to be interred. This location is in close proximity to the chapter house, to which the heralds would process in order to temporarily store Edward’s achievements while the ritual concluded. Edward IV most likely chose this position with the knowledge that in the future, this would form the main processional axis during other chapel ceremonies, including Garter day processions and installations.¹⁶⁰ Above the cadaver, in the north choir aisle, would have hung the achievements of Edward IV – his coat of gilt mail, covered with crimson velvet, embroidered with the royal arms decorated with pearls, rubies and gold thread. They are reported to have been visible to those visiting the chapel until 23rd October 1642, when they were removed by parliamentary soldiers under the orders of Captain

¹⁵⁹ Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 372.

¹⁶⁰ See the report of the investiture of Philip of Castile, Chapter Three, below.

Fogg.¹⁶¹ The hanging of these achievements highlights the function of the chapel as a home to the English Order of the Garter, of which Edward IV had been sovereign. Throughout the funeral ceremony, the chivalric display of coats of arms and the ritual accompanying the offering of Edward's achievements to the altar had been important. The anonymous herald singled Garter king of arms out for special mention while commenting upon the ritual offerings, and it is likely that the venue of St George's Chapel as a home for the Order of the Garter highlighted the significance of the chivalric elements of the funerary ceremony.

Yet what is striking about both of these accounts is the failure of each author to comment either upon the distinctiveness of Windsor as a venue for the funeral, or to register surprise about any element of the ritual which took place in the chapel as being unusual, having been specifically adapted. Roger Machado made no comment about the building, noting merely that the procession, after leaving Eton, "went on foot to the castle, accompanying the noble king into the church to the choir".¹⁶² The anonymous herald noted simply that the cortege "proceeded to the new chirche".¹⁶³ The failure of both authors to comment on the buildings in which the various stages of the funeral were held is an interesting omission. The feature in each of the choirs which attracted their attention was the hearse and the treatment of the coffin, rather than the decoration of the choirs. Neither noticed, for example, the use of black cloth to drape the walls of the buildings,¹⁶⁴ or the presence of other visual stimuli. This lack of sensitivity may imply that the relationship of architectural space to the ritual use of that space was not one which was considered highly important, but it may simply indicate that there was nothing unusual in the way that the buildings were decorated. It is possible that the custom of draping the walls with black cloth, and of providing exceptional numbers of candles to light the building were so well known that to record them here was unnecessary.

The failure of either author to register surprise about elements of Edward IV's funeral alerts us instead to its very orthodox nature. Comparison with the funeral of Henry V in 1422 reveals how closely it was followed as a model for Edward IV's. Henry V had died at Bois de Vincennes on 31st August. His body was embalmed, and placed in a coffin and then processed through France, finally reaching London on the 11th November. Monstrelet commented on the procession describing how

¹⁶¹ G. Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter From its Foundation to the Present Time* (London, 1841), p. lxxiv.

¹⁶² Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, "Royal Burials", p. 390.

¹⁶³ *Letters and Papers*, p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs "Royal Burials", p. 372.

“The royal coffin was placed within a chariot, drawn by four large horses, having on its top a representation of the deceased monarch, of boiled leather, elegantly painted, with a rich crown of gold upon the head: in his right hand a sceptre, in his left a golden ball, with his face looking to the heavens. Over the bed on which this representation lay was a coverlid of vermillion silk interwoven with beaten gold. When it passed through any towns, a canopy of silk (like to what is carried over the host on Corpus Christi day) was borne over it....During the whole way there were persons on either side of the car, dressed in white, carrying lighted torches: behind it were his household clothed in black, and after them his relatives in tears and dressed in mourning.”¹⁶⁵

The elements of the procession Monstrelet described – the effigy bearing the paraphernalia of office, placed on the coffin and facing the cloth of vermillion silk (most likely another majesty cloth), and the accompanying mourners – paraphrases the arrangement found at Edward IV’s funeral. Monstrelet cited too how the corpse was met by bishops on its arrival in London. There, the horses drawing the chariot wore collars bearing the coats of arms of England, France and England quartered, France, and Arthur (these he mentioned, presumably because they were unusual, as being *three crowns or, on a shield azure.*) Neither Monstrelet, nor Thomas of Walsingham, who also recorded the funeral in his *Historia Anglicana*, described how the ritual took place in Westminster Abbey.¹⁶⁶ Monstrelet and the author of the *Parisian Journal*, however, confirmed that a comparable ceremony to that taking place at the funeral of Edward IV, whereby the members of his household threw their staffs into the grave, took place at the funeral of Charles VI in St Denis just a few weeks later.¹⁶⁷ Giesey has suggested convincingly that the source for Charles VI’s funeral may well have been that of Henry V.¹⁶⁸ In fact, the debt to Henry V may run deeper still. One of the locations at which Edward IV’s funeral cortege rested for the night was the Bridgettine convent of Syon, founded by Henry V, where as benefactors, Edward IV and his wife were honoured and remembered equally with Henry V.¹⁶⁹

That Edward IV’s funeral too may have been modelled on Henry V’s is perhaps unsurprising. The novelty of Edward’s decision to be buried, not at Westminster Abbey – the favoured location for English monarchs’ tombs, with its recent emphasis as a venue for the

¹⁶⁵ E. de Monstrelet, *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet* (trans.) T. Johnes (London, 1867), vol. i., p. 484.

¹⁶⁶ Walsingham’s report does, however, support the description of the effigy cited by Monstrelet. Cf. T. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (ed.) H.T. Riley (Rolls Series, 28, 1863–4), vol. ii., pp. 345–346.

¹⁶⁷ Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, vol. i., p. 487. *Parisian Journal*, p. 182.

¹⁶⁸ Giesey, *Royal Funerals*, p. 99.

¹⁶⁹ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, “Royal Burials”, p. 374.

tombs of Lancastrian kings – but in the building which he had himself caused to be built, may have been departure from tradition enough. By ensuring that the visual structure of the funeral ritual was largely orthodox, Edward IV laid claim to his right as a monarch to be buried with traditional royal rites, overriding potential criticisms of those who considered him a usurper to the throne. But by requesting burial in St George's, Edward asserted his "otherness" as potentially the founder of a new line of Yorkist monarchs.

It is possible therefore, that the distinct setting of St George's as a venue for a royal tomb may have militated against innovation in royal funerary ritual. Within the context of his controversial claim to the throne, and his decision to be buried away from the main location of English monarchs' tombs, the very tradition of the funeral ceremony itself may act as a link in Edward IV's assertion of his position as a legitimate monarch. This was a link based on the fame of his predecessor but one, Henry V. I have suggested here that this was a consciously cultivated link, but it should also be remembered that the most immediate source for an English royal funeral (Henry VI not having died in circumstances which made a lavish funeral appropriate) was that of Henry V. It is therefore likely that this would have in any case formed the most convenient source for those considering how to construct an appropriate royal funeral in England, the like not having been for sixty-one years.

Edward IV's funeral comprehensively used the space of the building in order to emphasise his role as king and founder, in contrast to that of the later funeral ceremony of Edward's wife, Elizabeth Woodville. As former queen of England, Elizabeth was entitled to the same rituals as her husband – a chariot, cloth of majesty, and effigy, but as a widow, her estate was not sufficient to pay for a royal funeral. Thus the ritual that attached to the funeral of Edward IV, in which gradations of sacred space were clearly marked out, and traversed through, by individuals of different estate, were less clearly marked in her funeral.¹⁷⁰ On Monday 8th June, 1492, her body was taken quietly to Windsor, with no bells tolling, and with no formal reception by the dean and canons of St George's Chapel: instead she was met by a single priest and one clerk, who buried her immediately, "without any solempne Dirige or the morne of any solempne masse done for her owbehytt" in the same vault as Edward IV. Commemorative ceremonies, for the salvation of her soul, had to wait until the following day, when a small hearse was constructed in the choir, about which arriving relatives and nobles might make their obeiances. A dirge was sung on that evening, (the Tuesday), while masses of Our Lady, of the Trinity and of requiem, were sung on the Wednesday morning. Unlike the arrangements for Edward IV's funeral, when it seems that the noble, secular participants

¹⁷⁰ The narrative of Elizabeth's funeral is included in Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Royal Funerals*, pp. 72-74.

were either in the hearse, or in some unspecified part of the choir, the narrator indicates that the majority of the lords sat “above” in the choir until offering time (presumably in the choir stalls, rather than in the upper chamber of Edward IV’s chantry), whereas the “Lord Marquys” sat at the head of the hearse at the mass of requiem. Clearly far fewer individuals were involved in this particular ceremony.

In the absence of lavish ritual, in which the secular and chivalric dimensions of late medieval kingship were comprehensively mapped onto a sacred space designed to underpin a king’s divinely sanctioned status, much of the interplay between iconography, design and ceremony in the foundation remained underutilised. In Edward IV’s funeral, relationships between different features of the building, such as the sentiments expounded by psalm 20 carved around the choir stalls, and his badges carved into the stonework of the aisles like name tags, would have made his presence felt at future functions the building would have to accommodate. At the apex of this dynamic was the expression that this was a royal space, specifically designed to celebrate the king and his hoped for future dynasty. His wife’s funeral, however, appeared to be an entirely unsatisfactory affair from the point of view of the author, who commented disparagingly, “Nor att direge nor a non was ther never a new torche, but old torches, nor poure man in blacke gowne nor hoods [deleted] whod, but upon a dozen dyvers olde men holding old torches and torches endes.” Her Yorkist royal status was further downplayed by the failure of aspects of the ceremony to engage fully with Edward IV’s striking tomb, for this part of the ceremony took place before any attendees arrived.

* * * *

This chapter has argued that Edward’s legacy as founder of the new Chapel of St George had been coherently asserted through the comprehensive planning of space, and through specific iconographical pointers. It has considered the extent to which Edward IV carefully planned different features of the building in order that lay and ecclesiastical engagement with his tomb could be maximised. It has considered design sources for the chapel, arguing that Edward IV was probably actively involved with plans and designs for the building. That his vision shows a great awareness of the potential to map his posthumous legacy into a sacred space is unsurprising. With considerable funds at his disposal, a broad stylistic repertoire, and the advice of individuals such as Richard Beauchamp (who had also spent time thinking about the relationship between seeing, being seen, and eliciting the prayers of the faithful in his own foundation at Salisbury), Edward IV was in a privileged position to create a unique, splendid and rational sacred space.

By looking at Edward IV's and Elizabeth Woodville's funerals, the practical application of Edward's vision can be put to the test. The centrality of Edward's tomb to the final building becomes clearly apparent. However, we see in the difference between these two ceremonies a change in the relationship between design and function of the foundation. In the nine years separating the two funerals, it had become clear that Edward would not lie gloriously enshrined there as the founder of a line of Yorkist monarchs. Instead, St George's was now the royal chapel of an alternative dynasty, which had its own agenda and understanding of the way it should function in the future, and made its own claims on the way the space within should be used. This involved the creation of new associations and relationships between sacred space and secular worldliness by future benefactors to the building. It is only in coming to understand these that we can judge how comprehensive and successful Edward's vision for the foundation ultimately was. Chapter Two will therefore consider to what extent the provisions he made for his courtiers in the chapel built on the preliminary decisions he had made about his own tomb, before placing these stipulations within the context of the later building history of the chapel. It will also consider the role of other individuals in understanding, experiencing and negotiating personal sacred space within this larger foundation.

CHAPTER TWO

APPROPRIATING ROYAL SPACE: COURTIERS AND ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

In September 1472, Edward IV “herde in his own chappell our ladye masse, which was melodyously song, the Lorde Grautehuse beinge there present [and] when the masse was doon, the Kinge gave the sayde Lorde Grautehuse a Cyppe of Golde, garnished with Perle”.¹ This, the first of a series of ceremonies staged to honour Louis,² may have been one of the last significant events to take place in the old chapel which had been built by Henry III, for on the 19th February, 1472-3, Edward had instructed Richard Beauchamp to choose bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters and masons for the construction of a new and larger chapel. Whether he and Gruthuyse discussed the plans must, of course, remain a matter of historical conjecture, but this ceremony asserted to all Edward’s gratitude to his Flemish friend. The influence Edward’s exile in Flanders had on the cultural orientation of the English court in the final quarter of the fifteenth century has long attracted the attention of historians. The evidence presented in Chapter One suggested that Edward IV skilfully mediated between foreign and English sources to create a distinct architectural foundation, orientated around the plans for his funerary monument. This chapter focuses, however, on the impact this orbit of influence had on the fortunes of St George’s Chapel, as seen through the eyes of courtiers. By looking at two of Edward’s supporters, Lord William Hastings and Sir John Donne, as patrons of Flemish devotional works in panel and manuscript, and considering the relationship between representations of space found in these art forms, and the chantries they founded at St George’s, we gain an insight into the thought processes which governed the creation and use of space within the building in this early period of the new chapel’s history. By extending this investigation chronologically, and considering the actions of one of Henry VII’s courtiers, Sir Reynold Bray, who funded the completion of the nave at the end of the fifteenth century, it is possible to discern a developing sophistication in thought and practice concerning the appropriation of space within this royal foundation. The study of these patrons brings insight into how social experience could affect understanding and use of sacred space. Additionally, we learn about the shifting foci governing cultural influences and behaviour at the courts of Edward IV and Henry VII.

¹ Sir F. Madden, “Narratives of the Arrival of Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, in England, and of his Creation as Earl of Winchester, in 1472” in *Archaeologia* XXVI (1836), p. 277.

² Which culminated in Westminster Palace with the October 1472 grant of the earldom of Winchester.

“Truye Freynds” and Loyal Courtiers: The Foundations of William, Lord Hastings and Sir John Donne at Windsor.

The loyalty of William, Lord Hastings (d. 1483) and Sir John Donne (d. 1503) to Edward IV was unquestionable. Both had close contacts with Burgundy throughout their careers being entrusted by Edward to undertake frequent missions, in which matters of diplomacy and culture, including the appreciation of visual artefacts, interacted.³ It was therefore entirely appropriate that both Sir John Donne and William Hastings were involved with the lavish preparations undertaken to welcome Louis of Gruuthuyse to Windsor in 1472. Their inclusion in this, one of many ceremonies they would witness and partake in as court representatives, provides an excellent example of how court ceremonial culture could accommodate a necessary emphasis on public propriety, alongside an acknowledgement of the strict hierarchical structure of the English court. The social distinctions between the noble Hastings and the gentlemanly Donne were clearly apparent in the order of precedence taken by each man at the ceremony. Although trusted, Donne did not hold a sufficiently high status at court in 1472 to stand alone beside the Lord Gruuthuyse; instead he took his place alongside Hastings, Sir John Parre and “diuers others and nobles” in welcoming Louis to Windsor.⁴ Hastings, as lord chamberlain, however, acted as Louis’ equal during the structured initiation of Louis to the Order of the Bath, both men disrobing together and sharing a formal bath within the luxurious chambers prepared for Louis at Windsor.⁵

Despite the discrepancy in their social standing,⁶ both Hastings and Donne chose to found north aisle chantry chapels at St George’s in close proximity to Edward IV’s own chantry. Chapter One has shown that key to Edward’s decision to choose the north aisle was his understanding of the ceremonial construction of events which would take place in the chapel. In particular, Garter investitures and St George’s Day celebrations focussed on the north aisle as a ceremonial space, whereas the south aisle came to be an axis along which popular piety could be expressed at the relic sites of John Schorn, the Cross Gneth, and later Henry VI. Commanding the most prestigious location in the building for his tomb, Edward’s plans for the aisle appear to have extended beyond planning the appearance of his own tomb. In addition, it seems that he may have intended to choose those supporters who would rest alongside him. The caged chantry chapel of William, Lord Hastings, lies in the bay

³ See Appendix One.

⁴ Madden, “Narratives”, p. 276.

⁵ Madden, “Narratives”, p. 279.

⁶ Biographical information is included in Appendix One.

immediately to the west of Edward's tomb. The terms of Hastings' will, dated June 1481, suggest that he chose this site because he was specifically urged to by Edward IV:

"And forasmuch as the Kyng, of his abundant grace, for the trew service that I have doon, and at the least entended to have doon, to his grace, hath willed and offred me to be buryed in the Church or Chapel of Seynt George at Wyndesore, in a place by his grace assigned in the which College his highness is disposed to be buryed. I therefore bequeth my simple body to be buryed in the sayd Chapell and College in the sayd place, and wolle that there by ordeigned a tumber convenient for me by myne executors; and for the costs of the same I bequeth c. marks."⁷

This suggests that Edward's plans for the building involved including his courtiers from the earliest stages of the new building's construction.

The biography of William Hastings, given in Appendix One, shows that as a frequent visitor to France and Flanders, and resident of Calais for much of his career, he had ample opportunity to acquire three manuscripts with which he is associated: two Ghent books of hours (British Library Add MS 54782 and Museo Lazaro Galdiano (Madrid) No. 15503), and a fine illuminated copy of the second book of Froissart's *Chronicles* (British Library Royal MS 18 E.i.).⁸ These manuscripts may be dated to the period around 1480, when Hastings was also patronising lavish architectural and artistic projects: he constructed an ambitious tower house during the late 1470s at his castle at Ashby de la Zouche, and initiated work on the new and fashionably brick-built moated castle at Kirby Muxloe in 1480. Hastings was executed for treason by Richard III in 1483, and was buried in his chantry chapel at Windsor, which is decorated with a series of paintings depicting the martyrdom of St Stephen.⁹ Although there is evidence that the chantry had been constructed prior to his death, linking the paintings directly with William Hastings is problematic, and will be considered below.

Hastings' brother-in-law, Sir John Donne, outlived both Hastings and Edward IV, surviving (despite his loyalty to the Yorkist king) the reign of Richard III and well into that of Henry VII. Although there is no comparable "invitation" for Donne to requisition a space for his tomb at St George's, the study of his role as an intermediary between the court of Edward IV and that of Charles the Bold, and as a leading patron of Flemish works of art in his own right, emphasises the close political, cultural and pious links which might have brought about

⁷ N.H. Nichols, *Testamenta Vetusta* (London, 1826), vol. i., pp. 368-369.

⁸ See below, pp. 71-76.

⁹ See below, pp. 80-86.

his eventual interment at Windsor.¹⁰ Like Hastings, his connections offered him excellent opportunities to commission Flemish works of art, and to make such interests known at the English court.¹¹ He commissioned *The Donne Triptych*, from the leading Bruges painter, Hans Memling, probably c.1479 (now in the National Gallery, London). He is also associated with four illuminated manuscripts: a copy of the *Legends of the Saints* including an account of the Death and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a Life of St John the Evangelist, and a Life of Mary Magdalene (BL MS Royal 20 B.ii); the *Livre de Sydrac* including a treatise on sins (BL MS Royal 16 F.v.); his book of hours (Louvain MS A.2); and a copy of *Res Gestae Alexandri Magni*, which appears to have been a gift by Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy (BL MS Royal 15 D.iv.).¹²

The acquisition of these manuscripts by both Donne and Hastings tells us a great deal about the taste and personal piety of these men, knowledge of which helps to inform the background to decisions made about their tombs and chantries at Windsor and the appearance of their foundations there. It is possible that their active participation in this aspect of Anglo-Flemish court culture, alongside the activities of other English bibliophiles such as Thomas Thwaytes¹³ and Sir John Howard¹⁴ provides partial explanation for their finding favour with Edward IV. Thwaytes, like Donne, spent much time abroad, and in 1483, was despatched by Richard III permanently to take up the post of treasurer of Calais,¹⁵ while Howard, was appointed to the privileged position of king's carver in 1461, later becoming treasurer of the royal household – a position he combined with his diplomatic work in connection with Margaret of York's marriage.¹⁶ Unlike Thwaytes and Howard, however, something about the activities of Donne and Hastings brought them the particular favour of Edward IV they most likely acquired in order to secure burial at Windsor. It seems likely that their engagement with these works of art went beyond simply drawing them into the cultural orbit of Edward's court. Their decisions to choose the most skilled Flemish artists for these commissions indicate they both placed the greatest value on this type of art form. The level of personalisation that is found in manuscripts relating to Donne and Hastings, and in the *Donne Triptych*, suggests particular stipulations were passed from patron to artist about what should be represented, and how it should look, either directly, or via well-trusted intermediaries, although no precise details about any of these transactions survive. Thus what we see in these images is likely to reflect the extent to which Hastings and Donne had absorbed experiences

¹⁰ National Archives, PROB 11/15 sig. 95.

¹¹ Biographical information is also given in Appendix One.

¹² See below pp. 82-83.

¹³ Backhouse, "Royal Library", p. 30.

¹⁴ M.H.A. Ballard, *Anglo Burgundian Relations 1464-72* (Oxford D. Phil thesis, 1992), pp. 267-268.

¹⁵ Backhouse, "Donne's Manuscripts", p. 52.

¹⁶ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 324.

of space learned in the English and Burgundian courts, celebrating ceremonies located in a variety of architectural settings. In order to appreciate the ability of both Donne and Hastings to forge links between the personal sacred space demarked by the borders of the page and real, architectural space, as defined in Edward's new building, the manuscripts warrant scrutiny. Today, it is easier to account for the noble Hastings' burial at Windsor than it is to explain that of his social inferior, John Donne. Rather than approaching his manuscripts as a source which might explain this honour, I therefore propose to consider how far they can be used to appreciate the extent and sophistication of Hastings' understanding of the overlapping realms of public and private space.

The artists associated with the manuscripts under discussion were among the most skilled working in the Netherlands at this time.¹⁷ Hastings' two books of hours, now in London and Madrid, bear a striking number of similarities in form and content and may have been written by the same scribe,¹⁸ but are visually distinct from each other. The *Madrid Hours* was possibly the earlier of the two manuscripts and probably completed by the workshop of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, with perhaps one miniature being completed by the Master himself. The intricate, new style borders suggest it can be dated to around the late 1470s. The artist responsible for Hastings' *London Hours*, c.1480, shared artistic sources with the artist of the *Madrid Hours*, using patterns derived from the Netherlandish artists Dieric Bouts, Hugo van der Goes and the illuminator the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. He has been identified as the Master of the First Prayerbook of Maximilian and had a distinctive style from the artists associated with the *Madrid Hours*. The decoration of Donne's book of hours has been attributed to Simon Marmion and the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook c.1480. The hand of the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook has also been identified behind the miniatures in another, slightly earlier manuscript associated with Donne – the *Legends of the Saints* c.1475-80.

The emphasis in the calendar of Hastings' *Madrid Hours* on St Edward the Confessor and St Richard de Wyck indicates that this book was intended for an English patron; the hours of the Virgin are for Sarum use.¹⁹ The following eighteen suffrages, each illustrated with a full-page miniature, include an unusual illustration of the Adoration of the

¹⁷ There is further information about what has come to be termed the "Ghent-Bruges school of Manuscript Illumination", and the artists associated with this school, in Appendix Two.

¹⁸ D. Turner, *The Hastings Hours* (London, 1983), p. 123.

¹⁹ It has been observed that given Hastings' close association with Edward IV, the prominence shown to the names Edward and Richard is not surprising. *ibid.*, p. 155.

Magi and a devotion to St Sitha.²⁰ Hastings' arms, surmounted by his helm and encircled by the garter, appear towards the front of the book, on f. 4, and take up a full page. If they were worked into scenes or borders, this might suggest that Hastings was associated with the manuscript and choice of decorative style from the outset. As it is, however, this page could have been inserted when a purchaser was found for the manuscript.

Nearly every miniature in the manuscript can be linked to a pattern of an illuminator. The most original miniatures may have been inspired by the Vienna Master; that of the atmospheric "Death Vigil", illustrating the text for the commendation of the soul, depicts graceful figures in a softly-lit setting and may be by the master himself as it features a characteristic motif of his – the back view of a figure walking as if to exit the scene.²¹ **III. 45** It may be significant that in Hastings' *London Hours*, it is also the scene used to illustrate the mass of requiem that includes one of the four examples of Hastings' coat of arms, **III. 46** suggesting that these particular miniatures may be evidence for Hastings' concern with his own future commemorative arrangements, in a burial chapel situated in the most prestigious English location of the day.²²

The Madrid manuscript includes a vigorous image of St George, whose horse prances over the dead dragon, and is likely to have been favoured by a Garter Knight. In the *London Hours*, the devotion to St George is marked only by an illustrated border. In the scenes showing the beheading of John the Baptist (f. 24v.) and the martyrdom of St Sebastian (f. 34v.), also represented in the *London Hours* simply by a decorative border, topographical details are significant, including the presence of buildings constructed in the fashionable Flemish brick. In the latter, an enclosed architectural, courtyard-like space is a prominent feature of the cityscape background. It is likely that Hastings' plan to rebuild Kirby Muxloe in fashionable Netherlandish brick may have been inspired by visits to the Netherlands throughout his career.²³ His intimate contemplation of these scenes, would have placed pious images against a contemporary-looking background in which many of the scenes of his own

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 156. Turner suggests that Sitha was a rare saint, and that the Lucchese St Sitha may have been included mistakenly, Flemish artists confusing her with the English St Osith. However, St Sitha was a popular saint in England at this period, particularly with women; there are surviving representations of her in wall paintings, stained glass and roodscreens. D. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 2004), p. 558. She also appears in the Hours of Katherine of Bray, see below.

²¹ Turner, *Hastings Hours*, p. 154.

²² The carefully structured funeral rituals for royal, ecclesiastical and some knightly individuals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries eased the transition of the soul from this life to the next. These lavish, expensive ceremonies, such as the 1389 Requiem Mass for the French Constable, Bertrand du Guesclin, highlight the necessity of providing for a "proper death" appropriate to one's social position, and suggests that the transition of the soul was an important pious instinct evoked when contemplating a book of hours.

²³ See Appendix One.

life were played out. They are likely to have been features of the manuscript especially appreciated by him, if not specifically requested.

The artists' abilities to render illusionary recessionary space in the "Death Vigil" miniature and other miniatures within the manuscript effectively, may have been a reason for Hastings bestowing his patronage on them. In the miniature illustrating St Anne, the three figures of Anne, Virgin and Child sit inside an enclosed *hortus conclusus*. This is a very particular representation of sacred space in which the barriers between those admitted, and those only allowed to observe, are clearly articulated. This motif is replicated in the miniatures illustrating St Sitha, and St Katherine, whereas in the *London Hours* it is found just once, in the miniature illustrating St Barbara. His relationship with such images could have functioned on a sophisticated level. The articulation between outside and in, so much more apparent in this manuscript than in the *London Hours*, suggests a patron who was fully conversant with a concept of pictorial space which offered shifting perspectives according to context, and was well-able to appreciate differing representations of sacred space that were being explored in the foundation of St George's Chapel. His understanding of the ability of these subtle, yet fashionable, images to carry his prayers for future salvation, would have brought to his private gazes at moments of prayerful contemplation a parallel awareness of his public role and influence. The overlapping realms of private and public, sacred and secular, would also be exploited in the structure he would commission for his chantry in St George's.

The later London manuscript, the work of the Ghent Master of the Maximilian Prayerbook, is dated to between the late 1470s and Hastings death in 1483 on the basis of the presence of motifs and patterns popularised in the *Voustre Demeure Hours*. The manuscript opens with gospel extracts followed by individual devotions. Nineteen suffrages, many illustrated with full-page miniatures, precede the hours of the Virgin; eighteen match those in the *Madrid Hours*, and an extra one is dedicated to St Thomas Becket. Although the two books share design sources, the overall appearance of each is quite different. The colours are bright in this manuscript, whereas those in the Madrid manuscript are sombre and atmospheric. The colouring of the acanthus and floral borders in the London manuscript complements more closely the colouring of the miniatures they enclose, and although the flowers cast a shadow against the background, they are more evenly lit, and the shadow correspondingly dimmer. In acquiring two manuscripts, Hastings therefore ensured they were the work of two visually distinct leading illuminators. His conversance with the work of different masters may have lent his actions a certain degree of status at the English court for it indicates he had the knowledge, wealth and opportunity to acquire works created by differing esteemed Netherlandish workshops.

Four additional suffrages were added after the book was planned, but prior to its completion. These are dedicated to St Paul, St Leonard, St David of Wales and St Jerome, and are distinct from the main decorative schemas as they are not accompanied by text pages. The inclusion of St Leonard and St David of Wales may have held special significance for Hastings – Leonard was the name of his father and Hastings himself was chamberlain of Wales. Two of the more unusually designed miniatures in the *Madrid Hours* – that of the Adoration of the Magi, and that accompanying the devotion to St Sitha – also acquire exceptional prominence in this manuscript. The border opposite the miniature of St Sitha shows a fool and two ladies attending a joust between two knights. **III. 47** That opposite the Adoration of the Magi miniature depicts a group of fashionably dressed citizens, gathering up a cascade of gold coins being tipped down upon them by two figures at the top of the page. **III. 48** This might refer to Hastings' role as master and worker of the king's mints. Three other folios are marked out by distinct marginal illuminations which depict unified, three-dimensional secular themes that are continuous behind the text. These are highly original, and must have been communicated to the artists by the patron or an intermediary. Furthermore, the manuscript also reveals an interest in the legend of the mass of St Gregory. In 1473, Hastings and his brother founded the "gild of the Holy Rood in the Wall" in the church of St Gregory, Northampton to support the chaplains to celebrate divine service for the good estate of the king and for their descendants.²⁴ On f. 74, his coat of arms is placed in the border illumination opposite a miniature of the annunciation: Hastings also patronised the College of the Annunciation of St Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, bestowing on it the Hospital of St Leonard, Leicester in return for an annuity of £20 for life, and for the keeping of the obits of himself and his wife, Katherine, after their deaths.²⁵ However, although the Hastings' arms appear four times in this manuscript, in each case they are inserted, over the English coat of arms in the miniature of the Office of the Dead f. 184v., and over marginal illuminations on fols. 13, 74 and 151. These insertions suggest that he may not have been the original intended owner of the manuscript. Although the later addition of coats of arms to a manuscript was common practice, for one which seems so clearly to accommodate a number of very specific requests, it seems more likely that the coats of arms would have been worked into the illustrations from the outset if Hastings had originally intended it for himself. Furthermore, although the texts of the *Madrid* and *London Hours* bear many similarities, the litanies and calendars, where they might both be expected to agree most, are not especially similar.

²⁴ *VCH: Northamptonshire* (London, 1930), vol. ii., p. 139.

²⁵ *VCH: Leicestershire* (London, 1954), vol. ii., p. 49.

Another of the manuscript's distinctive border illuminations, opposite the presentation of Christ in the temple, depicts eight hooded figures in a barge which bears the royal arms of England: a penant on the barge bears the first word of the Order of the Garter motto, "Honi".

III. 49 Although Hastings' was a Knight of the Garter, making the inclusion of the Garter motto appropriate, it is possible that the overtly royal references in this miniature indicate that the book was planned for a royal patron. As tutor and councillor to the young Edward V, this book may have been intended for the prince rather than Hastings himself.²⁶ Pamela Tudor-Craig has suggested that both Hastings' manuscripts may have been gifts to the royal children from Margaret of York, offered during her state visit in 1480, and both were subsequently given as gifts to the Hastings family shortly before Hastings' death. However, her argument rests upon the comparative rarity of English individuals patronising luxury books of hours.²⁷ Since her research, attention has refocused on another book of hours – formerly the *Louthe Hours* – in which correct identification of the coat of arms has now linked this manuscript to the patronage of John Donne. If Hastings' brother-in-law, with fewer resources at his disposal than Hastings himself, played an active role in the commissioning of a book of hours, then it is very probable that Hastings did too. Thus it seems more likely that the *Madrid Hours* may have been his personal manuscript, while he may have commissioned the *London Hours* as a gift for Prince Edward; such a gift to the son of his great friend would have been entirely appropriate. His coat of arms may then have been painted over those of England at some later stage.²⁸

Several of the folios in the *London Hours*, such as the opening miniature showing the mass of St Gregory (f. 18v.) **III. 50** and the mass of the dead in which his coats of arms appear prominently, (f. 184v.) **III. 46** are worthy of closer scrutiny. Both depict single liturgical moments – the celebration of mass, and the singing of prayers for the dead – and have an intensity appropriate to the focus of the image. In the former, St Gregory, with his back to the viewer, kneels in front of an altar, replete with mass book and candles, and accompanied by two deacons. The foreground of the image – symmetrically angular with solid-looking steps leading to an altar – contrasts with the abstract, visionary scene beyond the altar, where a dying Christ, taunted by the disembodied heads of his tormentors and floating images of the *arma Christi*, stands before the cross. The contrast between "real" and "other" worlds,

²⁶ P. Tudor-Craig, "The Hours of Edward V and William Hastings" in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stanford, 1987), pp. 364-367. She has examined the evidence for this likely line of descent, and argued that the five innovative border decorations and the miniatures they enclose, offer a series of allegorical instructions on the virtues of good rule.

²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 354-358.

²⁸ That the books are not mentioned in Hastings' will does not necessarily imply that he did not own them before his death. There is no mention of Donne's book of hours in his will either.

separated by the altar boundary would have encouraged the viewer to jump between the two in their own contemplations. Each symbol of the Passion narrative provides a prompt to empathise with the suffering of Christ, which is brought closer to the owner of the manuscript by the actions of the saint. The image accompanying the mass of the dead shows a coffin draped in black cloth, lying on a funeral bier adorned with many candles, attended by choirboys and weepers. The funeral anticipates Hastings' own, as is apparent from his coats of arms which are also attached to the cloth draping the coffin. The solemn, ritualised, yet lavish nature of the commemoration offers an exemplar of the kind of arrangements Hastings may have wished for at his own funeral, although these are not closely detailed in his will. Together the two scenes provide evidence of the imaginary realms evoked by close study of a book of hours, and of their relation to real-life situations and events. The requiem mass in the *Madrid Hours* is marked with a miniature of St Lazarus being raised out of a tomb inside a church, observed by onlookers; taking place inside a clearly delineated sacred space, the onlookers are important, for they stand as testament to the truth of the event, and are a reminder to Hastings, as the user of the manuscript, that the prayers of the faithful around a tomb, might help to secure the resurrection of his own soul after death. The physical reality of the image can be seen in the circumstances of Edward IV's funeral, above.

The floral borders provide a further spatial layer to the images. The prevalence of forget-me-nots around the image of St Gregory and the inclusion of carnations (known as nagel-bloemen, or nail flowers in the Netherlands and dianthus in English, from the Greek meaning God's flower) are appropriate visual puns on the contemplation of Christ's suffering being asked of the viewer.²⁹ This, the very foremost layer on the page, is therefore both meaningful and decorative and may reflect the actual decoration of main and chantry altars in late medieval churches.³⁰ The layers of complexity to these images assume the existence of a visually sophisticated patron, able to comprehend how images could prompt internal devotion, while also providing an external expression of that piety. Their link with Hastings himself should encourage us to view him as a man who could mentally comprehend multi-faceted concepts of sacred space. The intended arrangements for his chantry should also be understood in the same terms.

Around the same time he was purchasing manuscripts, Hastings was also spending lavishly on improving castles and manors in his possession, including those of Kirby Muxloe, Ashby de la Zouche and Bagworth, having received a license to fortify these manor houses in 1471 and to make parks in each place. Hastings' fine manuscripts utilised already established

²⁹ C. Fisher, *Flowers in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 2004), p. 24.

³⁰ This will be considered further in Chapter Four.

patterns and forms popularised by the leading illuminators of the day, and confirm that his tastes as a patron favoured the most up-to-date, fashionable modes available. His building projects can be seen in the same light. Ralph Cromwell, a member of Henry VI's council, lord treasurer of England between 1433 and 1443, and therefore of comparable social status to Hastings himself, had undertaken significant building works at Tattershall Castle prior to his death in 1456. He had also provided for the foundation of a collegiate church there as well as building manor houses at South Wingfield (Derby) and Collyweston (Northants), and in 1450 had instigated work on the nave of Randby Church (Lincs). At Ashby, Hastings' principal residence, work had commenced shortly after 1471, with the building of a high curtain wall round the south side of the manor house, and a formidable tower (48 ft by 40 ft) in the middle of it, comparable in size and design to Lord Cromwell's great tower at Tattershall. Hastings' coat of arms is worked prominently into the stonework of his Ashby tower. **III. 51** At Kirby Muxloe, he and his wife spent around £1000 between 22 October 1480 and 6 December 1484 on pulling down old buildings, enlarging the existing living accommodation, and building an inner courtyard, moat, towers and a gatehouse.³¹ In October 1481, John Cowper, the master mason, went to Tattershall and back by order of Hastings. Robert Steynforth had done the same thing on behalf of the master mason in June, possibly in order to take notes of the treatment of the brick and stone masonry there, which was looked to as a stylistic source for Kirby.³² The bricks at Tattershall were made locally, but accounts of the work at the church and college of Tattershall from 1457-8 include a payment for £11. 13s. 4d. to the wife of "Bawdwin Docheman" *pro factura et anulacione de clx nille tegularum* indicating that the chief brickmaker employed by Cromwell had come from the Low Countries.³³ Foreign brickmakers, probably a Fleming, are recorded as working at Kirby Muxloe in 1483.³⁴ The Kirby Muxloe gatehouse is built of thin red bricks, diapered with patterns of black brick: above the gateway are the builder's initials, W.H.; on the right turret is the maunch or sleeve which formed the arms of Hastings, and above it a ship. **III. 52** All angles are of brick, stone only being used for doorways and windows, as in the great tower at Tattershall. His awareness of Cromwell's work at Tattershall suggests that he actively sought to build in a manner commensurate with his high-ranking position at court.

The self confident assertion of status and influence at the heart of his rebuilding of Kirby Muxloe and Ashby is matched by the tone and details of his last testament. Among the

³¹ A. Hamilton-Thompson, "The Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe" in *Transactions of the Leicestershire Historical Society* XI (1919-20), p. 345.

³² *ibid.*, p. 242.

³³ Marquis Curzon and H. Avray Tipping, *Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire: A Historical and Descriptive Survey*, (London, 1929), p. 54. "Tegularum" was used to describe bricks as well as tiles at this date.

³⁴ Hamilton-Thompson, "Building Accounts", p. 249, p. 257, p. 266 and p. 268.

many foundations to benefit from bequests, the parish church of Ashby de la Zouche received vestments, altar cloths, and £50 to fund a priest to say masses for his soul.³⁵ By leaving objects, which would adorn the most sacred part of the church and provide a posthumous physical link to the central focus of all devotional ritual in the building, Hastings located himself spiritually at the communal centre of the parish in which his favourite family residence was situated.³⁶ This personal appropriation of sacred space at the very heart of the parish church, ensured his memory would live on in the minds of those who had been tenants and vassals, reinforcing the social hierarchy of late medieval society in the mind of the onlooker. The association would have acquired deeper resonance still, twenty years later, when Katherine Hastings directed in her will that she be buried in the central position in the parish church “between the image of our Lady and the place assigned for the vicar’s grave”.³⁷ These testaments show the importance of the parish community for individuals whose careers and social status gave them access to spaces, both sacred and secular, of much greater renown. It was in these contexts, as lord and lady of a local community, that they could arguably manipulate a more effective, personal articulation of sacred space than they could in a royal foundation such as Windsor. Thus we should remain alert to the importance of the local in informing understandings about sacred space which they could bring to their readings of much grander foundations. This awareness of how a posthumous legacy might effectively penetrate across the social groups in late medieval England is something I suggested in Chapter One that Edward IV was also closely aware of: knowledge of these arrangements is therefore important in informing us about the intellectual understandings which may govern the presentation of chantries at Windsor.

Hastings’ patronage points to a well developed understanding of the relationship between objects in space, and their ability to carry hopes for salvation and commemoration; these were articulated within a striking appreciation of Netherlandish forms and craftsmanship on which he consistently stamped his coat of arms, bordered by the garter ribbon.³⁸ However, little attempt has been made to understand the importance of the Order of the Garter for Hastings. Within the context of his relationship with Edward IV and Edward’s appreciation

³⁵ Nichols, *Testamenta*, vol. ii., p. 371.

³⁶ There is no detailed evidence for the altar cloth, and it is impossible to establish whether it was very precious.

³⁷ Nichols, *Testamenta*, vol. ii., p. 451.

³⁸ A third manuscript associated with Hastings links him closely to the court of Edward IV. It is a fine illuminated copy of Froissart’s second book of Chronicles. Hastings’ arms are indicated by an outline sketch surrounded by a painted blue garter ribbon. This manuscript has been linked with a manuscript owned by Edward IV – volume IV of Froissart’s chronicles – and it has been suggested that Hastings relinquished this volume in order to help his friend complete a set. J. Backhouse “Memorials and Manuscripts of a Yorkist Elite” in E. Scarff and C. Richmond (ed.), *St George’s Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages* (Windsor, 2001), p. 156.

of the processional routes Garter Knights would follow through St George's Chapel,³⁹ it is likely that this oldest of the European orders of chivalry was of profound importance to both men. Elected in 1462, Hastings was one of the first new candidates chosen by Edward IV; both Edward and Hastings first attended a meeting in the third year of Edward's reign.⁴⁰ Hastings actually attended the annual gathering infrequently, probably because of other pressing commitments: in the fourth year, for example, he was "defending the northern border"⁴¹ and in the sixth year he was "absent in Calais".⁴² However, his attitude to the order was distinguished from many contemporaries, for he always excused his absence, as required under the terms of the Garter statutes. Not all members of the order took their responsibilities as seriously – at the first meeting of Edward IV's reign, the earl of Pembroke, Rivers and Dudley were reprovved for sending no excuse.⁴³

Of at least seven individuals called on to nominate new candidates for election, Hastings' advice was sought consistently. Each counsellor nominated nine candidates and Edward IV then selected a candidate who had secured the universal nomination of his advisors.⁴⁴ John Donne was first nominated for election by the duke of Buckingham on the 18th August in the fourteenth year of Edward's reign. In 1476 Donne was again recommended, this time by Lord Howard. In 1479, however, it was Hastings recommending Donne for election. This was a significant date for Hastings to openly recommend Donne in public for at this point both men were marking themselves out as artistic patrons of distinction by acquiring Flemish manuscripts; Donne was also in the process of commissioning a triptych from Hans Memling. Whether a closer bond had been forged between the two men as a result of their patronage activities, it is impossible to say. It can be conjectured, however, that while travelling between England and Burgundy, and passing through courts which placed a high value on artworks of Flemish origin, they took time to compare and discuss their purchases and commissions; if Donne had also hoped this cultural investment might facilitate his upward social mobility, he might have been heartened by Hastings' support of him as a Garter candidate. As Hastings was the only elector to nominate Donne, Donne was not ultimately chosen, but the formulaic procedure Edward followed for electing new knights easily explains Donne's failure to be elected. Any feelings Edward may personally have had for Donne's loyalty could not override the custom that a successful candidate had to secure a nomination

³⁹ This will be explored further in Chapter Three.

⁴⁰ J., Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, From its Cover in Black Velvet, usually called The Black Book* (London, 1724), vol. ii., p. 176.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 178.

⁴² *ibid.*, p. 182.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 173.

⁴⁴ Interestingly, Henry VII seems to have followed the advice of his councillors less consistently, frequently choosing a candidate only one or two people had nominated for election.

by all counsellors and does not therefore imply that Donne was considered unworthy of such a position by Edward.

Donne's manuscripts perhaps show evidence of a more refined appreciation of Flemish skill than those of Hastings. It seems likely that, like Hastings, Donne's engagement in this form of artistic patronage was designed to demonstrate to the English court his ability to converse with his social superiors on matching cultural terms. Appreciation of this is necessary if we are to fully understand why he was also encouraged to found a chantry in St George's Chapel. Of the four manuscripts associated with him, Louvain MS A2, his book of hours, and British Library MS Royal 15 D iv, Vasco de Lucena's translation of Quintus Curtius' *Res Gestae Alexandri Magni*, are perhaps the most important in the context of Donne's relationship with Windsor. Two further manuscripts associated with him, the *Legends of the Saints*, and the *Livre de Sydrac*, will be discussed briefly first, however, because they link Donne to both Calais and the Burgundian court.

The texts of both manuscripts are in French and the scripts bear a correlation to the script used in several fine copies of the *Chroniques de France* which may have been written out in Calais. One of these versions was signed by Hughes de Lembourg, the servant of another bibliophile, Thomas Thwaytes.⁴⁵ The former manuscript opens with a large miniature of the assumption, accompanied by a full border of the flower-foliage type associated with the Ghent-Bruges school of manuscript illumination. Donne's coat of arms is crudely inserted underneath the miniature. **III. 53** In the second manuscript, Donne's coat of arms is also inserted under the first miniature in the book – in this example, a presentation miniature showing the book being given to a king, watched by his court. **III. 54** Both manuscripts share border motifs of acanthus leaves and wild flowers, but these are more sophisticated in the *Livre de Sydrac*; casting a shadow against a light-coloured background, they are depicted with a vigour and three dimensionality that is lacking in the other and indicates a later date of c.1480 for this manuscript. The *Legends of the Saints* was most likely completed between 1475 and 1480; its illumination has been likened to work by the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook.⁴⁶ Although one of the first to use the new style of border illumination, in this manuscript the border patterns are of his earlier type, very similar to the borders in another manuscript associated with this master (Edinburgh University Library MS 305.) **III. 55**⁴⁷

⁴⁵ J. Backhouse, "Sir John Donne's Flemish Manuscripts" in P.R. Monks and D.D.R. Owen (ed.), *Medieval Codicology, Iconology, Literature, and Translation: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair* (Leiden, 1994), p. 53, and above p. 70.

⁴⁶ See Appendix Two.

⁴⁷ This book was probably made for an individual attached to the Burgundian court, associated with the motto "Voustre-Demeure" and was later given as a gift to Charles and Margaret, at which point their

Skilled in the depiction of the textures and hues of landscape, it is this feature of the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook's work that has led to his association with the Donne manuscript, where the figures in the assumption miniature seem dwarfed by the closely observed landscape rising on either side of the Virgin.

The relationship between the Calais scribe and Ghent illuminator has not been adequately addressed; it is one which will merit further investigation as it raises the question of whether Donne purchased a completed manuscript in Ghent, or whether he acquired the text in Calais, and actively sought out an illuminator whose style he favoured. If the latter, he may have settled on the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook after discussing such matters with Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy, and perhaps viewing work held in the ducal library. This manuscript links Donne with the most skilled illuminators working in the Netherlands very early in his career as a patron of Flemish artists, suggesting he was a man to whom skill and accomplishment in his works of art was important. It also links him directly with artists working for other members of the Burgundian court.

Donne's closeness to the court is more explicit in the manuscript of *Les faiz du Grant Alexandre*, which he may have acquired by 1477. Of twenty-nine surviving manuscripts of Vasco de Lucena's translation of Quintus Curtius,⁴⁸ this manuscript is the most elaborately decorated containing seventeen large and thirty-two small miniatures with associated border decorations. The paintings are of fine quality – many of the miniatures are in grisaille with some occasional soft colouring and the foliage borders are decorated in soft pastel colours in contrast to the heraldic colours favoured in library books of the day.⁴⁹ Donne's arms appear on the last page of the manuscript, but heraldic evidence and a barely visible ownership inscription suggest that it first belonged to Guillaume de la Baume, a highly esteemed aid at the court of Burgundy, described on one occasion as "chevalier d'honneur de Madame la duchess de Bourgogne".⁵⁰ Donne's arms are added in the same style as those of de la Baume, and two adjacent inscriptions by Mary of Burgundy (in French) and Margaret of York (in English) in which they both describe themselves as "true friends" of the recipient, seemingly indicate that this was a gift from the two women to Donne. **III. 56** Backhouse has identified 1477 as a likely date for this gift: both Guillaume de la Baume and John Donne were involved in the marriage preparations for Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria in

initials were inserted into the scene showing the mass of the dead. It may therefore have been produced prior to Charles' death in 1477. T. Kren and S. McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue, London, 2004), p. 145.

⁴⁸ The translation was completed by 1468.

⁴⁹ Backhouse, "Donne's Manuscripts", p. 49.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 50.

1477. She has also commented on similar inscriptions which are found in other manuscripts, indicating they were gifts to Guillaume de la Baume from Margaret of York.⁵¹ Donne clearly knew Margaret of York well, having been part of the envoy celebrating her marriage in 1468, possibly meeting her at Calais in 1475, and certainly being present at Syon during her visit to England in 1480. However, little thought has so far been given to the content of this book, and the reason why this particular manuscript was offered as a gift to Donne. Consideration of the *Legends of the Saints* manuscript above, indicates that Donne shared Margaret's taste for fine quality manuscripts, illuminated by skilled individuals of the day: it is likely that his appreciation for this manuscript would have been honed by time spent at the court of Burgundy in the company of Margaret herself, Louis de Gruthuyse, Guillaume de la Baume and other wealthy patrons.

The ducal libraries, during the reign of Philip the Good in particular, contained many books about the classical triad of the nine worthies – Hector of Troy, Julius Caesar and particularly Alexander the Great.⁵² One of his manuscripts was probably used as a source for an earlier translation undertaken by the court writer, Jean Wauquelin⁵³ whose *Histoire de Bon Roy Alexandre* shares the lively, romantic spirit of the series of tapestries commissioned by Philip the Good, and purchased possibly through the Tournai merchant Pasquier Grenier, c.1459. **III. 57** These tapestries illustrate popular romances of Alexander's legendary adventures, and portray deeds which made Alexander worthy of inclusion among the nine ancient worthies and a model to be emulated by the knights of Europe. They depict the more fanciful aspects of the romance – Alexander's ascent into the sky, and his descent into the depths of the ocean to do battle against dragons and monsters. It was these feats especially that were attacked by Vasco de Lucena in the epilogue to his new translation as completely fictitious: both were known to be impossible, even though the surviving number of illustrations of the ascent and descent indicates that they were among the most popular of his accomplishments.⁵⁴ Decrying lurid detail, Lucena's text refocussed on Alexander as a heathen ruler, and committed him to his proper place among the damned for failing to acknowledge the Christian faith. However, as a writer concerned with a "truthful" translation, he also tempered his criticism by emphasising Alexander's main moral virtue – his reputation for magnanimity and liberality.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² M.G.A. Vale, *War and Chivalry* (London, 1981), p. 163. See Edward IV's purchase of tapestries of this subject, Chapter One, p. 27.

⁵³ G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 228.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 238.

There was a precedent for the gift of the text of Alexander: Margaret of York's actions recalled those of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who had presented the *Shrewsbury Book* to Margaret of Anjou in 1445 to celebrate her forthcoming marriage to Henry VI and to educate her in the ways of the English court. The choice of texts in the book appears to have been decided upon by Talbot, who commissioned the manuscript for himself, but then had it hastily adapted so that it might function as a short-notice gift to the future queen.⁵⁵ The story of Alexander is just one text in this manuscript – others include the “Garter Statutes”, “Guy of Warwick”, the “Three Chansons of Charlemagne” and the “Régime des Princes”. The chivalric theme of many of these texts reflects the concerns of Talbot and his contemporaries. By the date of Margaret of York's gift to Donne, the popular conception of Alexander as an ideal chivalric type, a model to be imitated by nobles and courtiers alike, was undergoing a revision⁵⁶ but for a prominent courtier, whose eyes may have fixed on an admission to the Order of the Garter, these associations are likely to have remained pertinent. The courtly conception of Alexander as a worthy knight remained a feature of his appeal at the court of Burgundy; at the wedding of Margaret of York, one of the staged pageants was devoted to Alexander the Conqueror, showing his marriage to the daughter of the king of Egypt.⁵⁷ Even in England, where it was more usual for writers to condemn him as a pagan, the chivalric model remained an important component of the legend throughout the fifteenth century. In “The Ballade for Henry VI upon his Coronation,” among the things that Lydgate hoped God may send the newly crowned king were “Alysaundres mangnanymyte / Conquest, victorye”.⁵⁸ This understanding of Alexander as a generous worthy perhaps explains why Margaret thought this luxury manuscript in particular might make an appropriate gift to reward the diplomatic efforts of the emerging English connoisseur, Sir John Donne.

John Donne's own book of hours may have been illuminated by Simon Marmion and the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook c.1480. His choice of these two illuminators is not surprising, given his previous involvement with the Dresden Master, and his close contacts with the ducal court testified to in the gift from Mary and Margaret. There are a number of irregularities in the binding of Donne's book of hours especially in the portion of the manuscript between the office of the Virgin and the penitential psalms and the pages may have been bound together after the decoration had been completed. Quires 15 and 16 each have two leaves, quires 17 and 18, four leaves each, and the sequence of suffrages unusually

⁵⁵ C. Reynolds, “The Shrewsbury Book, British Library, Royal MS 15 E.VI” in J. Stratford (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen: British Archaeological Conference Transactions, 1986* (Leeds, 1993), pp. 109-116. See also Chapter Three, below.

⁵⁶ Cary, *Medieval Alexander*, pp. 239-240.

⁵⁷ R. Withington, *English Pageantry* (Cambridge, 1918), vol. i., p. 152.

⁵⁸ G. H. V. Bunt, *Alexander the Great in the literature of Medieval Britain* (Gröningen, 1994), p. 50.

switches between male and female saints.⁵⁹ Although the import and sale of single illuminated leaves was banned by the Bruges guild in 1457, except when they were bound in complete books, in this instance it is probable that the Valenciennes atelier of Simon Marmion delivered a set of miniatures to the Bruges illuminators, or to a particular *librairier*, who then had the volume completed by the Dresden Master in Bruges.⁶⁰ Although we cannot establish precisely the instructions given to the artists, this possible scenario suggests Donne actively sought an illuminator such as Marmion whose fame had been established through his Burgundian court commissions.

This manuscript accommodates a number of very personal requests on the part of the patron. Accurate heraldic evidence is incorporated into the design of the borders rather than inserted at some later stage. Donne is represented twice, once in armour beside his guardian angel, **III. 58** and once in the collar and gown of a layman beside an image of the annunciation, **III. 59** In each case his image is accompanied by his coat of arms and on f. 100v. by his crest of knotted snakes. The texts are likely to have been personally chosen by Donne. The manuscript is of Sarum use, and the calendar contains a number of saints favoured by the English. In addition, both St Thomas of Hereford and St Thomas Becket are included in the suffrages, the former a likely link to Donne's connections with Wales and the Marches. The following prayers to the Virgin, hours of the Virgin, prayer to the Holy Trinity, five joys of the Virgin and penitential psalms are all accompanied by illuminations attributed to Marmion. Those accompanying the suffrages are divided between the hands of Marmion and the Dresden Master; the two styles can be distinguished by the border decoration, Marmion consistently using an unusual three-sided border layout and the Dresden Master the more common four-sided one. Both portraits of Donne are by the hand of Marmion. They are lifelike, in that they resemble the figure represented in the *Donne Triptych*, suggesting that Marmion and Donne met on at least one occasion, while Donne was in France or the Netherlands.

Spatially, the representations in this manuscript are extremely sophisticated. The illustration of Donne on f. 100, kneeling in armour before a prayer-dieu on which an open book rests, accompanied by the Angel Gabriel, shows a high degree of refinement. The colouring is delicate and subtle, the angel's wings echoing colours used in Donne's armour, in the cloth covering the prayer-dieu and the altar-covering. A border of vines, which cast shadows against a gold background, completes the page. Three snakes wriggling through the

⁵⁹ B. Brinkman, "The Contribution of Simon Marmion to Books of Hours from Ghent and Bruges" in T. Kren (ed.), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and the Visions of Tondal* (Malibu, 1992), p. 182.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 184. See also Appendix Two, for Simon Marmion's career.

vines, a pun on Donne's crest of knotted snakes, are another indication that specific instructions were given to the artist about what to represent. They also allude to the original sin Donne kneels to ask atonement for. The miniature is divided into a series of architectural spaces: in the foreground, Donne kneels on a step within a side chapel on the north aisle of a church. The aisle can be glimpsed beyond. The tableau on the altar shows an unusual full-length figure of Christ – normally he appeared half-length in such images. However, another manuscript illuminated by Simon Marmion shows a similar looking full-length Christ carrying an orb, crowning Mary as queen of Heaven above the beginning of the text for the hour of compline.⁶¹ **III. 60** It is possible that this image was a favoured type of Marmion's. The evidence for the appearance of Donne's chantry at Windsor will be considered below, but it is interesting to note that the arrangement depicted here is compatible with the potential arrangement of Donne's north-aisle chantry at Windsor, assuming that as originally planned, the chantry of his brother-in-law, Lord Hastings was looked to as a model. His decision to appear dressed in armour, carrying his sword, and including his coat of arms accompanied by his crest, might refer to the links between Windsor and the Order of the Garter for it was customary to hang a sword and crest above the choir stall of each knight.

Many fifteenth-century commentators and authors called for intense contemplation of images, in order to facilitate close identification with the scenes being depicted. Thomas à Kempis urged his readers to "take refuge in the Passion of Christ, and love to dwell within his Sacred Wounds. For if you devoutly seek the Wounds of Jesus, and the precious marks of His Passion, you will find great strength in all troubles".⁶² The series of mental images which may have been prompted by this miniature also bring an understanding of the use of pictorial space which enhances the identification with a particular location such as Windsor. When contemplating this miniature, Donne might have been reminded of real space within a specific location, but he would also have been aware of the correlating dimension of personal spiritual space, in this instance demarked by the borders of a page. These reflect the actual personal space created by the walls of a chantry chapel within a larger foundation. His appearance inside the architectural space in this image, presented by his guardian angel rather than a named saint or the Virgin, suggests that this may relate to a chantry foundation to be erected in his memory. The image of Donne on f. 13, however, places him in the border; an observer looking into the miniature of the annunciation in which surprised, Mary looks up from her prayer book as the Angel Gabriel enters the room. It has been observed that the emphasis on the incarnation of a child in annunciations may have been a reason for donors choosing to be

⁶¹ Pierpont Morgan Library MS. M.6, f. 57v.

⁶² T. à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, (trans.) L. Sherley-Price (Middlesex, 1952), p. 68.

represented alongside this scene.⁶³ At the time of the manuscript's creation, as is evident from the Donne triptych, the Donnes only had a daughter. Edward Donne was not born until perhaps 1482-3,⁶⁴ and it is possible that Donne's choice of this scene may therefore refer to his desire to have a son. That Donne is here confined to the border suggests that this miniature is a more sanctified pictorial space than the miniature on f. 100, and it is less likely therefore to be a representation of a particular physical space. As with Hastings' manuscripts, the floral borders framing the scene provide an additional spatial layer to the image, and introduce associations relevant to the miniature. In this example, a single viola, associated with the humility of the Virgin Mary, is placed directly above Donne's head, while below and to his right, is an everlasting pea – the two flowers visually reinforcing the humble, kneeling Donne's bid for eternal salvation. The different visual evidence used to depict actual and intellectual boundaries in this manuscript would have appealed to a patron such as Donne, whose interest in pictorial representations of high quality and complexity may have been stimulated by the manuscripts he had already acquired, partly through the benevolence of Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy. The many personal stamps on this manuscript indicate that Donne took a close interest in each stage of its production. Furthermore, his choice of artists reflects and reinforces his closeness to those patrons who chose books illustrated by highly skilled illuminators.

The clustering of these acquisitions between the years 1475 and 1480 suggests that Donne was by this time a highly regarded employee of the English court, and well received at the Burgundian court. Evidence from the Garter attendance records suggests that he was on the point of "making it" as a Knight of the Garter. For some reason around 1479, Donne also decided to commission a triptych from the then most foremost artist in Bruges, Hans Memling who, after his death in 1494, was described by a contemporary diarist as one "held to have been the most skilful and most excellent painter in the whole of the Christian world".⁶⁵ **III. 61** The coincidence of this date with those around which manuscripts came into his possession, raises the question as to why Donne was investing in projects which would have brought cultural prestige, as his association with another highly regarded Netherlandish artist almost certainly would, at this time. An admission to the Order of the Garter and the promise of a tomb at Windsor might provide an answer.

⁶³ J. Cherry, "The Talbot Casket and Related Late Medieval Leather Caskets" in *Archaeologia* (1982), p. 139.

⁶⁴ L. Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools: National Gallery Catalogues* (London, 1998), p. 383.

⁶⁵ Printed and translated in K. B. Mcfarlane, *Hans Memling* (Oxford, 1971), p. 28. The diarist was chapter-clerk of St Donatian's, Bruges, who knew Memling.

The visual debt the *Donne Triptych* owes to the *Altarpiece of the Two Saint Johns*, painted for the Bruges Hospital by Memling and completed by 1479, has frequently been commented on;⁶⁶ III. 62 it seems likely that Donne saw this painting, or preliminary sketches for it, perhaps when visiting Memling's studio, and may have based his own commission on it because of the presence of his two name saints. This altarpiece is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the patron saints of the hospital, St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist. The two male saints flank the Virgin, and have female counterparts in St Catherine and St Barbara, who sit on either side of the Virgin. The positioning of the four saints corresponds with the four kneeling donors in their Augustinian habits. Scenes from the lives of the two St Johns are recounted in small background scenes, culminating in the wings with the beheading of St John the Baptist on the left and the vision of the Apocalypse on the right. The same four saints appear in the *Donne Triptych*, and the two Saint Johns have almost exactly the same poses.⁶⁷

For Memling to receive a commission from an Englishman was unusual. A study of his client base suggests that Memling made most of his paintings for local or Italian patrons. Those from other parts of Europe, such as John Donne, and the German Greverade brothers, commissioned works only incidentally.⁶⁸ Of the patrons Memling worked for, he is known to have completed a series of portraits of individuals with links to the Burgundian court: the composer Gilles Joye (1472), chaplain of the duke of Burgundy's music chapel, and also of Anthony of Burgundy, only copies of which survive.⁶⁹ That Donne was a patron who wanted to ensure that his artworks were completed by the most prestigious artists of the day, whose credibility had been guaranteed by their involvement with members of the Burgundian court, seems clear from the study of his manuscripts. If the painting had been destined for Donne's promised chantry chapel at Windsor, its fine quality would be especially important.

If the context surrounding the commission points to Windsor as a possible location for the painting, the details of the painting itself help to anchor these tentative suggestions. In arguing against the possibility of Windsor as a destination for the triptych, Lorne Campbell observes that in 1443, Sir John Donne's parents obtained a papal indult allowing them to have a portable altar and that Donne may have had altars at his house in Calais, or at his principal

⁶⁶ In addition to Donne learning of Memling's reputation through contact with the Burgundian court, McFarlane surmises that Donne may have worshipped at the St Johns' Hospital when in Bruges due to its dedication to his name saints. He would therefore have been in a good position to learn about the commissioned work.

⁶⁷ D. De Vos, *Hans Memling: The Complete Works* (London, 1994), p. 38.

⁶⁸ M. P. J. Martens, "Hans Memling and his Patrons: A Cliometrical Approach" in H. Verougstraet et al. (ed.), *Memling and his Patrons: Proceedings of the International Colloquium (Bruges, 10-12 November)*, (Leuven, 1997).

⁶⁹ De Vos, *Memling*, p. 96.

seat in Saunderton, Buckinghamshire.⁷⁰ If the triptych was purchased in order to adorn a private altar, its comparative large scale is unusual. The dimensions of 72.3 x 71.6 cm when closed and 72.3 x 143.2 cm when open make for quite a hefty portable item in comparison to paintings more usually considered to be portable.⁷¹ The scale of the painting, however, would fit well on an altar the size of that in the Hastings chantry, if Donne had looked to that chantry (which was probably in the process of being constructed in 1479) for inspiration.⁷² **III. 63**

According to the will of Elizabeth Donne, her husband was buried “upon the north side of the said church”.⁷³ She also requested burial there. She does not provide any further information about the appearance of the tomb, nor does she mention any triptych. Between 1510 and 1538, there are payments in the household accounts of her son, Edward Donne, to priests to sing for his parents’ souls “where they’re [*sic*] bones lyes at Wyndezore”.⁷⁴ In 1527, Geoffrey Wren, one of the canons at Windsor, wished to be buried in St George’s Chapel “afore Sir John dons chappell under the 6th arch near the North Window”.⁷⁵ His wording suggests that Donne had some kind of enclosed space as a chantry chapel, two bays further west than Hastings’. This probably backed onto the choir, as did Hastings’ chapel. Eileen Scarff has observed that marks suggestive of iron railings and of an abutting stone structure are faintly visible in the appropriate part of the aisle.⁷⁶ As planned, there is no reason for Donne’s chantry to have differed substantially in size from the Hastings chapel, or from the identical Oxenbridge chantry chapel, in the fifth bay of the south choir aisle, but when realised, Donne’s chapel was probably a less permanent structure. Two iron hooks survive on either side of the bay which are commensurate with the height of the top of the Hastings chantry. In the *ad hoc* arrangement that ultimately appears to have formed the chantry, these may have been used to suspend something of value from – possibly the triptych itself.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Campbell, *Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, p. 387.

⁷¹ For example, the *Mater Dolorosa and Christ Crowned with Thorns* diptych, from the workshop of Dieric Bouts, is 37.3cm x 28.3cm closed, and 37.3cm x 56.9cm open. Campbell, *Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, pp. 63-66.

⁷² The interior of the Hastings chantry is 1.55m wide and 4.72m high; there are traces of an altar 1.07m above the floor (the current altar is just 99 cm high). The distance between the original altar, and an angel cornice running round the top of the chapel would have been 81 cm. The triptych would fit in this space with 4.5 cm to spare on either side if the wings were opened fully. There would be more space when the wings were opened at an angle to the central panel, an arrangement which would have the effect of enfolding the viewer within the three panels. Resting on or above the altar, it would not reach higher than 2 metres from the floor. This would place the head of the Virgin approximately at eye level, if one were to look at her standing.

⁷³ National Archives: PROB 11/15, sig. f. 1.

⁷⁴ Warwick County Record Office, CR 895/106.45, fols. 86, 143v. and 255.

⁷⁵ National Archives: PROB 11/22, sig. 27.

⁷⁶ Backhouse, “Memorials and Manuscripts”, p. 157.

⁷⁷ I am grateful to assistant archivist at St George’s Chapel, Mrs Enid Davies for her comments on this matter.

There are correlations in the pictorial division between sanctified and actual space in the painting comparable to those found in his book of hours. The figure who peers into the painting from behind St John the Baptist, but is not admitted to the sanctified space of Donne and Elizabeth, is perhaps a steward; such a figure may have helped co-ordinate the commissioning of the painting, but he has hitherto resisted further identification.⁷⁸ The visual trope of the onlooker recalls the construction and division of space between a chantry chapel and a church aisle, such as is found in the “caged-type” Hastings chantry, **III. 8** Solid architectural pillars divide the private and public realms, but the private interior space needs the public onlooker, for this gaze becomes a crucial component of the *memento mori* function of the chantry chapel itself. The presence of this “real-world” individual therefore deepens the likelihood that the painting itself is an embodiment of the spatial themes invoked by the segregation of space which would have been intended in the foundation planned for Donne at Windsor. The orientation of this space also accords with the image in his book of hours, and with the situation of a chantry chapel on the south side of the north choir aisle of Windsor. As we look into the painting, we look towards the Virgin, emblematic of the altar; thus a door on the left hand panel leading into the sacred space, corresponds to a potential door into a chantry from Donne’s north choir aisle location.

In the painting, both John Donne and Elizabeth, wear the livery collars of Edward IV. The giving of livery collars had originally been closely connected with the practice of retaining, under which kings and magnates protected and maintained a number of men to whom they gave liveries. From the 1360s, these devices were often incorporated into metal bound collars. Livery thus proclaimed that the wearer was a member of a larger affinity and belonged to a certain household or owed allegiance to its master;⁷⁹ in this instance it incontrovertibly allies the Donnes to the Yorkist monarchy. This would be a particularly appropriate garment to wear were the triptych intended for Windsor. In the portraits of Donne in his book of hours, he does not wear the chain, suggesting that for private worship, this item was not a necessary adornment. The two figures in the painting are also very richly attired, which might indicate it was commissioned for display in a more public place than a chapel in their private residence.⁸⁰ The angels carry musical instruments perhaps also linking the painting to the royal chapel at Windsor, and the “melodyouse song” heard by visitors to the

⁷⁸ Mcfarlane, *Memling*, notes the relationship between this figure and appearance of the hospital “gauger” in the *Altarpiece of the Two St Johns*, and suggests the prominence of the purse carried by this man indicates he was one of Donne’s stewards, p. 12.

⁷⁹ A. Ailes, “Heraldry in Medieval England” in P. Cross and M. Keen (ed.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 94-95.

⁸⁰ Donne was exempt from sumptuary legislation, but it is not known whether Elizabeth would ever have worn such a garment.

chapel.⁸¹ The saints represented, however, resist concrete identification with Windsor, or indeed any other location associated with Donne. When closed, the grisaille figures on the shutters show Saints Christopher and Anthony Abbot. It has not yet been possible to establish why Donne might have chosen these figures, or whether he held any special devotion to them. St Christopher's role as the patron saint of travellers may have appealed to the frequent voyager Donne, while St Anthony as a patron of the sick, would have been an appropriate saint to choose for a foundation where pilgrimage was to become an important consideration, as at St George's. However, although there were relics of many saints at Windsor, there were none of Christopher or Anthony. It is also possible that they may not have any particular personal meaning for Donne for both saints had appeared in earlier paintings by Memling – he may simply have had images of particular saints in his workshop which could be chosen by patrons.⁸²

The central panel of the Virgin Mary would have been appropriate for this foundation, however. Both John and Elizabeth Donne, followed the usual procedure in their wills of commending their souls to the Blessed Virgin, reaffirming their faith in her ability to intercede with God on their behalf. The high altar of Edward III's chapel at Windsor had been dedicated to Our Lady, St George and St Edward.⁸³ Edward IV's church has come to be known simply as St George's Chapel, but in his 1475 letters patent to Richard Beauchamp, Edward instructed him to "build and construct a new chapel in honour of the blessed Mary and St George the Martyr within our Castle of Windsor".⁸⁴ A niche behind the high altar, in the north ambulatory, may have housed an image of Our Lady, which would have been an especially appropriate location if the Virgin was originally the joint dedicatee of the chapel.⁸⁵ An old image of the Virgin, which had flanked the high altar of Edward III's chapel, may have been reused in this chapel too.⁸⁶ There is no surviving evidence for the dedication of Donne's own chantry, but it is possible that this could have been to the Virgin, or to one of the saints featured in the triptych.

The appearance of the triptych and the circumstances of its production, fit with the image of Donne as a patron who took a close interest in the execution of his commissions. It

⁸¹ Madden, "Narratives," p. 277 and above p. 1. The role of music in the life of the chapel will be considered in Chapter Four, below.

⁸² St Christopher first appears in the Kaufman Triptych, 1470 to 1475, and appears in four further paintings dating from c. 1480. St Anthony first appears in the Ottawa panel presenting a donor to the Virgin and Child, c. 1472. He also appears in the *Altarpiece of the two St Johns* on which the Donne triptych was closely modelled. De Vos, *Memling*, catalogue.

⁸³ Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 374.

⁸⁴ CPR: *Edward IV and Henry VI: 1467-1477*, p. 535.

⁸⁵ See above, p. 11.

⁸⁶ See above, p. 6.

has been noted that Donne's dress appears very fashionable, and technical analysis has revealed that considerable changes were made to Elizabeth's head at some point during the production of the painting. Memling may have been advised by Donne of her appearance when the commission was already underway, and altered it accordingly.⁸⁷ The somewhat idealised, distant and emotionless appearance of individuals in the painting are a feature of Memling's style which may have appealed to Donne. His portraits in the book of hours show a man sober and reflective in prayer that correlates well with the attitudes of the individuals in the triptych. The difference between this and the *Altarpiece of the Two Saint Johns* may further reveal something of Donne's taste. Rather than the detailed, vigorous (and probably expensive) narrative of scenes from the saints' lives which populate the background of the larger painting, the background in Donne's triptych shows a calm, uncluttered landscape. The absence of detail would no doubt have reduced the cost of the painting, but Donne may have favoured this solution for additional reasons. A watermill features prominently in the background, which although not an unusual motif in Memling's works, only appears once in surviving works earlier in date than this commission.⁸⁸ **III. 64** It does not appear in *Altarpiece of the Two Saint Johns* on which this triptych is modelled so closely, suggesting Donne may have specifically requested this feature, or favoured it over a list of possible backgrounds suggested by Memling. Memling may have intended the watermill, with its associations of crushed grain being turned into nourishing bread, to represent Christ's incarnation – a reading which would sit comfortably with its location in the Donne triptych, where it is placed above the Christ child's raised hand and to the right of the Virgin's head. It is also placed close to St Catherine, a juxtaposition which highlights the reference to the wheel as one of her saintly attributes. However, for Donne, the mill may have had other resonances. Of the lands and offices he acquired shortly after Edward IV's coronation, those he was granted in Northamptonshire in 1461 were reconfirmed in 1465, this time the grant being extended to include "the manor of Rusheton called "Westmaner" with the advowsons of the church of the parish and a yearly rent of 2 s. ... from the manor of Rusheton...and a messuage, ten cottages, a virgate and a half and 6 roods of land, 11 acres of meadow, 3 acres of pasture, 40 acres of wood and a water-mill in Aldewyncl." ⁸⁹ At the time the triptych was commissioned, his English properties seem to have provided them with a home nearer London and the court than his Welsh grants. It is possible therefore that this was a favoured residence, and the pastoral background of his triptych thus specially requested to remind him of his

⁸⁷ Campbell, *Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Schools*, p. 385.

⁸⁸ It is found in his *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, De Vos, Memling, catalogue no. 23, c.1475. It also appears in four works which postdate the *Donne Triptych*: *The Virgin and Child Enthroned* c. 1480-90, De Vos no. 54; *The Triptych of Earthly Vanity and Divine Salvation*, De Vos no. 64; *Portrait of a man with a Rosary*, c.1485-90, De Vos no. 69; and *The Virgin and Child Enthroned with Two Angels* c.1490-91, De Vos no. 89.

⁸⁹ CPR: *Edward IV 1461-1467*, p. 431.

English home. A watermill may have been a valued source of income for Donne during this period. Recent studies have suggested that the income from mills in the East Midlands remained buoyant, whereas those in other parts of the country, particularly the South West, declined. Helped by easy access to the ports of Hull, Boston and King's Lynn via the inland waterways of the Trent, Witham and Fenland, grain mills in particular flourished in the Midlands.⁹⁰ In 1480, "all lands that had been granted to Don" in this area were granted to William Sayer, esquire and his wife Margaret,⁹¹ and Donne's principal English residence shifted to Saunderton in Buckinghamshire.⁹²

The choices made when commissioning this piece surely represented a desire on the part of Donne to include features in his painting which reflected its Flemish origin: the intimate piety of the figures, and the rolling landscape broken by visual prompts which may have held particular significance for Donne, were details in which the artists of the northern Netherlands excelled. By assuring its Flemish origin was apparent, Donne also articulated to his audience his own skill as a connoisseur. This spirit of pious self-promotion, shown by the prayerful individual wearing the livery collar of Edward IV, is entirely appropriate in a painting destined for the frequently visited Royal Chapel of St George; much of its impact would surely have been wasted were the painting confined to a small altar in one of his private residences. In the context of the chapel, the painting would have provided ample evidence of Donne's ability to comprehend multi-faceted concepts of sacred space. This image of patrons being able to move intellectually with seeming fluidity between two and three dimensional representations of sacredness, suggests that studying other visual forms allows us to appreciate how alternative users of the space brought the experience of their ideas and discoveries to bear on the space of the chapel.

At Windsor, Donne's chantry would have made for a very different visual experience to the one a visitor to the Hastings chantry may have witnessed. Hastings' chantry stands between the fourth and fifth bays of the north choir aisle. **III. 8** It has an open screen with a doorway on its aisle face, and is enclosed to the south by panelling at the back of the choir stalls. It is an entirely orthodox-looking chantry, in which open traceried windows, reaching to just above the height of the altar, would have allowed selective aspects of the decorative schema inside to be seen and the chantry mass taking place inside to be clearly audible. The chantry would have been easily identifiable as belonging to Hastings for his coat of arms was carved on the front of the structure. Given the invitation Edward IV issued to Hastings, it is

⁹⁰ J. Langdon, *Mills in the Medieval Economy* (Oxford, 2004), p. 31.

⁹¹ *CPR: Edward IV and Richard III 1477-1485*, p. 201.

⁹² *VCH: Buckinghamshire* (1925), vol. iii., p. 95.

very likely that Edward IV would also have taken an interest in the appearance of the foundation, maybe even approving the plans. The contrast between this chantry, and the spectacular but arresting visual experience of Edward's own tomb – the emaciated cadaver guarded by finely detailed, gilded wrought iron railings⁹³ – could not have been greater. In the differences between the two, we find visual evidence of both Edward IV and Hastings' ability to articulate court hierarchical structures of power within a visual terminology.

The chantry was probably under construction as early as 1479, but only dedicated twenty years after his death, by his widow, Elizabeth, and his son, Edward Hastings.⁹⁴ The 1534 inventory records a chalice of silver and gilt, and a mass book covered with red velvet and having two clasps of silver, as being situated in the chantry.⁹⁵ The term "mass book" suggests that this was not either of his books of hours discussed above. Four oil paintings on panel are affixed to the southern wall of the chantry between pinnacled buttresses, showing scenes from the life of St Stephen.⁹⁶ The paintings show Stephen being condemned to death by Herod – the slaughterer of the innocent – and may refer to Hastings' execution without trial in 1483, on the orders of Richard III.⁹⁷ His will and books of hours offer no evidence for Hastings holding a particular devotion to St Stephen, although the presence of a relic of St Stephen at Windsor, may have encouraged this choice of subject.⁹⁸ A comparable artistic reference to an unpopular political regime, however, has been identified in the Eton College Wall paintings. There the south-wall paintings detail scenes from the life of an empress, who was wrongly accused of murder and condemned to death by her husband but saved by the intercession of the Virgin. It has been noted that the cycle has an emphasis on gullible rulers, corrupt brothers, and murdered nephews. In one scene, the emperor's wicked brother (whose accusations led to the empress' condemnation) is forced to reveal her innocence in return for a cure for leprosy. He wears a chain with the prominent Yorkist sunburst emblem attached to it; in the Lancastrian context of Eton, the whole series could perhaps be interpreted as an anti-Yorkist joke.⁹⁹ This must limit the dates at which these scenes could have been painted as it is

⁹³ See above, Chapter One.

⁹⁴ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV. 58. C17.

⁹⁵ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 179.

⁹⁶ W. H. St John Hope and P. H. Newman, "The Ancient Paintings in the Hastings and Oxenbridge Chantry Chapels, in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle" in *Archaeologia* lxxiii (1912). These have recently been restored, "Restoration Report" in St George's Chapel Archives, Windsor.

⁹⁷ It has been observed that St Stephen is brought before King Herod himself, rather than the high priest and council. Hope and Newman, "Ancient Paintings", p. 94.

⁹⁸ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 61. This relic was one of the stones with which Stephen was stoned; it was recorded as belonging to Windsor in 1384, and was still there in 1552.

⁹⁹ A. Martindale, "The Wall Paintings in the Chapel of Eton College" in Barron and Saul, *England and the Low Countries*, pp. 147-148.

unlikely that this kind of reference would have been wise under Edward IV or Richard III; they were probably complete by 1487, however.¹⁰⁰

This example may have been known by the artists working on Hastings' foundation, but these are unlikely to have been the same individuals as those working at Eton, as this series of paintings is stylistically distinct. The figures have none of the sinewy grace and confident foreshortening of the figures by the south wall artist at Eton **III. 65** and there is little evidence of the ability to operate on different spatial planes within one scene, so apparent in the north wall scenes.¹⁰¹ **III. 66** A suggestion that the costumes in the Hastings chantry reflect a date of "not after 1485," is not convincing.¹⁰² The appearance of a number of individuals with mid-length, scruffy hair-styles **III. 67** is similar to those that are found in the *Portraits of William Overbecke with St William* by a Flemish artist c.1485-90,¹⁰³ while the headdresses worn by women also suggest a similar date. As paintings on panel, rather than murals, they appear to have more in common with images used to decorate medieval screens than those found at Eton. Unlike later fifteenth-century wall paintings, where frequently the large array of subjects do not form a coherent sequence, (Eton being an exception) the narrative progression of these four scenes is sharply defined, and as a consequence, they bear a closer relationship to the type of narrative paintings associated with Netherlandish artists of the later fifteenth century. There is no evidence that they were painted by a foreign artist, however, and there are earlier English examples of narrative oil paintings on panel, such as the *Life of St Etheldreda*, probably by the East-Anglian artist Robert Pygot, c.1455, now in the Society of Antiquaries, London.¹⁰⁴ **III. 68** Such examples may have been more common than this isolated survival suggests.

Janet Backhouse has observed the likeness between these paintings and those by an artist who illustrated the ceremonies of admission to the Order of the Bath. This series of miniatures appears in one of several manuscripts collected together in *Writhe's Garter Book*,¹⁰⁵ a compilation of heraldic materials collected by the Garter king of arms, John Writhe

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 149. This assumption is based on a record in the accounts of payments for sponges to clean the paintings.

¹⁰¹ The difference between the north and south walls at Eton has been likened to the difference between Hugo van der Goes and Dieric Bouts. At least two artists appear to have been largely responsible for the north and south wall scenes respectively, but there is evidence of a number of other hands at work throughout. *ibid.*, pp. 137-142.

¹⁰² Hope and Newman "Ancient Paintings", p. 88.

¹⁰³ M. Scott, *A Visual History of English Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1986).

¹⁰⁴ R. Marks and P. Williamson, *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547* (Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue, London, 2003), cat. no. 319.

¹⁰⁵ Backhouse, "Memorial and Manuscripts", p. 153-154. See Chapter Three for further consideration of Writhe and his Garter Book.

(d.1504). Since these share a run of paper leaves with Writhe's Garter Armorial, the last entry in which is dated 1488, it is likely that these were completed in the late 1480s. Costumes are very similar between the two works, as are the crudely characterised faces and the ranks of little trees which are used to suggest a landscape of rolling hills in the distance; they also share the colour palate of distinctive olive-greens, crimsons, and orange-reds.¹⁰⁶ **III. 69** She suggests that the same artist, commissioned by Writhe to decorate the manuscript, could also have undertaken work for Katherine Hastings. The pride Hastings clearly felt in his position as a Garter Knight might have made the subsequent pairing of a heraldic artist with the production of paintings to decorate his chantry an appropriate choice. It is possible that these paintings were not painted *in situ* – the appearance of the panels suggests they may have been cut down to size when installed and the association with Writhe's *Garter Book*, suggests we should be looking along a London / Windsor axis for the possible artist.

For the political favourite Hastings, his Windsor tomb was an appropriate epitaph for a man whose cultural pursuits during his life emulated those of his sovereign; work associated with him, in particular the *London Hours*, is lavish, complex and conforms to court taste. The desire to follow the sovereign, and stamp his own reputation on the court as a patron of Flemish artworks, was undoubtedly also a factor underlying Donne's decision to purchase manuscripts and commission a triptych from Memling. Donne, however, appears to have placed a higher value on quality objects which were intimately associated with his own person: that there are three known portraits of him, and none of Hastings (but many representations of his coat of arms surrounded by the garter), underlines the different approach both men took to their commissions. Donne's very close association with the Burgundian court, through Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy, may account for his seemingly good eye; in turn his engagement in cultural patronage probably helped to consolidate these personal links. Although Donne's ties with St George's Chapel were not strengthened by a Garter accolade, as a loyal servant, close friend of his sister, and the brother-in-law of his chamberlain, Edward IV may have recognised in Donne a figure whose actions had made a resting place in the prestigious north aisle of his chapel entirely appropriate.

That Edward IV should have demarked personal space in the north aisle at Windsor by planning for the burial of courtiers around him, accents Edward's intentions that the chapel should function as a monument to the Yorkist dynasty he had hoped to found. Hastings, whose loyalty was testified to by the author of the chronicle *The Recoverye of the Throne* by

¹⁰⁶ A. Wagner, N. Barker and A. Payne (ed.), *Medieval Pageant. Writhe's Garter Book: The Ceremony of the Bath and Earldom of Salisbury Roll* (Roxburghe Club, 1994).

Edward IV,¹⁰⁷ and his respected esquire of the body, John Donne, had both displayed extreme loyalty and an appreciation of the cultural orientation of Edward's court, and it was therefore suitable that their tombs should help commemorate his reign. Although unusual, it was not unknown for kings to ordain that loyal supporters should be buried nearby. Richard II had insisted that his friend and advisor, the lord treasurer and bishop of Salisbury, John of Waltham, d.1395 be interred in Edward the Confessor's chapel at Westminster Abbey. He was commemorated there by a tomb brass.¹⁰⁸ It is likely that Edward IV was also aware of a more famous example, which was particularly appropriate to the chivalric associations of his new Garter chapel. Froissart had recorded the feats of the French hero of the Hundred Years War, Bertrand du Guesclin (d.1380), the man who had been given his first captaincy sixteen months after the French were routed at Poitiers in 1356 by Edward III and his army. Although the recovery of France after the disasters of Poitiers and Crecy was achieved under the leadership of Charles V collaborating with other bureaucrats such as Jean le Mercier and Bureau de la Rivière and a general staff that included the dukes of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy (all members of the royal family), the vigour of the soon-to-be promoted constable of France's actions against the English, was already legendary by the time of his death. Bertrand du Guesclin left instructions in his will for his body to be buried in the church of the Jacobins of Dinan.¹⁰⁹ However, between Le Puy and Dinan, his funeral cortege was intercepted by officers of Charles V, ordered to take charge of the constable's body, and convey it to the Royal Abbey of St Denis, where it was to be buried with the kings and queens of France.¹¹⁰ He was laid to rest in a tomb in the new chapel of St John the Baptist at St Denis **III. 70** – the first chapel in the southern ambulatory, level with the high altar when processing eastwards – that Charles V had chosen and enlarged in order that it may accommodate his own tomb.¹¹¹

The full splendour of du Guesclin's funeral was only realised several years after the death of Charles V, when Charles VI ordered that this hero should be commemorated by a lavish ceremony in which many elements of chivalric ritual merged. Du Guesclin's fellow Breton, Guillaume de la Penne, in a poem composed in 1390, described the "four warhorses which were brought to the offertory in the church; two were armed as if for tournament, the

¹⁰⁷ J. Bruce (ed.), *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Finall Recoverye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI*. (Camden Society Old Series, London, 1830), p. 2 and pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁸ J. Pope-Hennessy, "The Tombs and Monuments" in *Westminster Abbey* (Radnor, 1972), p. 200.

¹⁰⁹ R. Vernier, *The Flower of Chivalry: Bertrand du Guesclin and the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 2.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹¹¹ S. M. Crosby, *The Abbey of Saint Denis 475-1122* (Yale, 1942), vol. i., p. 5.

other two drawn up as if for war".¹¹² Many of the elements of this funeral were reused in the funerals of Henry V of England, and would be used by Edward IV at his own funeral in 1483.¹¹³ Du Guesclin, the model of chivalric knighthood, was commemorated in three printed books in the fifteenth century, Guillaume le Roy's *Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin* (1488) and two anonymous works, *Le Livre des faiz de messier Bertrand du Guesclin* and *Les Faitz et gestes du nobles et vaillant chevalier Bertrand du Guesclin*, based on a rhymed chronicle that had been composed within a few years of his death by Cuvelier.¹¹⁴

Although Edward IV did not leave funds for the completion of Hastings' tomb, as Charles V did for the creation of a tomb to commemorate du Guesclin, with the persistence of du Guesclin's fame into the fifteenth century, it is likely that he was well aware of this significant precedent and he may have had a parallel example in mind with his own plans for the spatial dynamics of Windsor. Given the Franco-Flemish orientation of English political affairs, exemplified in the patronage activities of both Donne and Hastings, paraphrasing a French example in addition to the valued Flemish references, would not be a contradictory source for a king looking to establish the most up-to-date, lavish building to commemorate his reign and dynasty. Neither Hastings nor Donne acquired the lasting fame of du Guesclin, but both had served their master and his family with unflinching loyalty in war and peace and both had marked themselves out as cultural patrons of distinction, who understood the repertoire of artistic influences and motifs Edward would have had in mind for this major building project. For the powerful Hastings, and his ambitious brother-in-law, these resonances remained of critical importance. Donne died twenty years after Edward IV, by which time the cultural orientation of St George's Chapel had shifted. The 1484 translation of Edward IV's usurped predecessor, Henry VI, to a tomb in the south choir aisle upset the spatial integrity of a building planned by Edward IV to focus on the family of York. For John Donne, however, the legacy of the connections and friendships he had forged through his Flemish commissions, and which had brought him closest to the greatest period of success in his career, still sufficiently informed his sense of self-worth for him to desire a tomb which would rest alongside the brother of his "truye freynd", Margaret of York. In his willingness to remain loyal to his former Yorkist monarch, Donne's interment also underlines Edward's desire to enhance his own tomb by allowing the nearby space to be appropriated by his most loyal courtiers, endorsing the suggestion made in Chapter One, that in the early part of the

¹¹² Vale, *War and Chivalry*, p. 92. L. Miror, "Le Messe du Requiem de Du Guesclin (1389)" in *Revue de Questions Historiques* XXVI (1903). In fact eight war horses were taken into the church, all bearing du Guesclin's arms and emblems.

¹¹³ See above, Chapter One.

¹¹⁴ Vernier, *Flower of Chivalry*, p. 201.

new chapel's history, this tomb gave coherence to the project. In the final arrangement, those who had served him so well in life, would also guard him in death.

Refocussing the Space: Sir Reynold Bray and the Completion of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Early Sixteenth Century.

In 1494, Henry VII began to think about where to situate his own tomb and chantry. Royal interest in St George's had been wanting since the death of Edward IV in 1483, but Henry's eye fell on the potential to build a new Lady Chapel there, in which a splendid tomb could sit alongside a newly built shrine to Henry VI, for whom Henry VII desired canonisation. The site seemed to offer the potential to articulate a coherent dynastic assertion of Henry's rightful claim to the throne through the now-popularly revered former monarch. With the input of royal funds, the Lady Chapel was brought to completion by 1498. However, Henry's cessation of interest in St George's, in favour of building a spectacular Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, and his decision to translate Henry VI there, augured a downturn in the chapel's fortunes for it was once again deprived of royal support and funds. It was into this void that Henry's councillor and confidante, Sir Reynold Bray, stepped. His willingness to fund the completion of the chapel, for which he left substantial monies in his 1503 will, marks the emergence of a building with very different foci to those Edward IV had intended in 1475. Decisions about the way space should be used in the building were no longer governed by the need to glorify the Yorkist dynasty; instead the patronage of this powerful, self-made courtier brought a new set of criteria to its construction. This was based on Bray's own understanding of the function and form of architecture and the potential artistic patronage offered as a tool to secure both the salvation of one's soul, and the public recognition of one individual's rise to power and influence. Bray's impact on St George's helped crucially to define the finished appearance of the building, but his taste as a patron took a very different form to that of earlier benefactors to the building, like William, Lord Hastings and Sir John Donne. Remarkably, interest in this major figure of the early Tudor court has focussed on his life and his accrual of land; consideration of his significant role as a patron of the arts, whom others looked to for advice, is long overdue.

Westminster Abbey MS 43, a large antiphoner dating from the latter part of the fifteenth century, is the only surviving manuscript that can with certainty be linked to Sir

Reynold Bray.¹¹⁵ The Bray coat of arms appear in illuminated capitals on fols.10, 42, 74 97v. and 170v; in each case decorative roundels, at the top and bottom of the page, bear his black hemp brake badge on a gold-leaf background. The heraldic stamps appear contemporary with the manuscript, but could have been painted in once a purchaser was found for it, space possibly being left for these additions to each roundel. Pasted into the front of the manuscript is a plate from Thomas Faulkner's *An Historical and Topographical Description of Chelsea and Its Environs* showing the tombs of Edmund, Lord Bray, Reynold's nephew (d.1539), and that of Edmund's son, John, Lord Bray, (d.1557), which formerly existed in the parish church of St Luke.¹¹⁶ The paper leaf in the front cover records Bray family christenings between 1547 and 1640, in a seventeenth-century hand; the manuscript had clearly stayed in the hands of Bray's heirs for many generations before being donated to the abbey in 1981.¹¹⁷ A number of requests for prayers to be said for Reynold Bray and his wife, Katherine and later members of the family for whom Edmund Bray and his wife Jane were bound to pray, have been written in the calendar, fols. 68-73.

This large manuscript of 490 x 335 mm is comparable in size to another English fifteenth century antiphoner, the Wollaton Antiphonal (Nottingham University Library MS 250).¹¹⁸ However, the quality of the Bray manuscript bears no comparison to either the Wollaton (c.1430), or the Ranworth (Ranworth Church, c.1469-90) antiphoners. Unlike the Wollaton and Ranworth examples, Bray's antiphoner includes no miniatures, only decorative borders, and these are considerably less lively in both colouring and drawing than either of the earlier examples. In the Wollaton antiphoner, for comparison, the frequent use of trellis patterns, and monochrome band borders, with large foliate initial designs, indicate the luxury status of this manuscript, identified by armorial decoration as having belonged to Sir Thomas Chaworth (d.1458) of Wiverton, Nottinghamshire. Chaworth's will mentions that several service books lay in his chapel, and the present antiphoner may well have been one of these.¹¹⁹ Similarly, it is likely that Bray's manuscript was destined for a chapel associated with him. It is possible it may have been used in his chantry chapel at Windsor, but it was more likely purchased for one of the other foundations associated with him, probably the private chapel in his residence at Eaton Bray, for it is less likely to have remained in family hands had it been

¹¹⁵ Notes on the manuscript by D. East and P. Robinson are held by Westminster Abbey Muniments. East dates the manuscript to c. 1460, but the inclusion of Bray's hemp-brake emblem, indicates a likely later date. Bray was probably born c. 1440, but the first project with which he can securely be involved is with the glazing in Peterborough Abbey, c. 1478. The badge subsequently became a favoured device.

¹¹⁶ T. Faulkner, *An Historical Description of Chelsea and its Environs* (London, 1829), vol. i., p. 203.

¹¹⁷ By Mr J. C. Thomson.

¹¹⁸ This is 575 x 366 mm.

¹¹⁹ K. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490. (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 6)*, vol. ii., pp. 205-206.

situated in a larger institution. Aside from the coats of arms, the decoration of the manuscript is limited to the illuminated capitals, some on gold ground with decorative borders¹²⁰ and others in gold on a blue and pink ground.¹²¹ On a few pages, pen and ink grotesques and portraits have been drawn out from the text. The manuscript shows signs of considerable wear, but the illumination appears to be of generally poor quality – the ink texture is coarse and the illuminated capitals are roughly painted.

Something of the character of Bray himself, however, can be discerned behind this manuscript. Motivated by matters of scale and substance – the trappings of show – the very possession of a manuscript such as this probably mattered more to him than the quality of its illumination. Unlike Edward IV's courtiers, William Hastings and John Donne, there is no evidence that Bray sought to buy himself cultural prestige by cultivating an image as a bibliophile. Instead, Bray's motivation to engage in large-scale patronage activities seems to have been guided by a desire to associate his name with projects which would have brought him the maximum publicity. His willingness to emboss his projects with his coat of arms **III. 71** or more usually, his hemp brake badge **III. 72** (as found in the manuscript) are the closest we can come to ascertaining his particular "style" of patronage. Bray's major outlay as a patron was on the completion of the nave of St George's Chapel, Windsor, and the repeated appearance of his hemp brake emblem in stone, ironwork and glazing in the nave, is an entirely suitable epitaph for the man whose will instructed his executors to

"Make and perfourme...the werke of the new werkes of the body of the church of the college of our ladye and seint George within the castell of Wyndesore. And the same work by them hooly to be perfourmed and finished according and after the fourme and entent of the foundation therof as well in tymbre, ledde, irone, glasse and all other things necessary ... For the better perfourmance of the same."¹²²

The differences between Bray's legacy articulated in the stonework of St George's and the small-scale, subtle, but defined use of space apparent in the chantry chapels of William Hastings, and the likely chantry chapel intended by Sir John Donne, are themes which will be explored below.

A finer manuscript also linked with the name of Bray is Stonyhurst College MS 60 – the so-called *Hours of Katherine Bray*, Reynold's wife, which provides a different perspective on the context for the patronage decisions made by the Brays. Given Reynold Bray's evident

¹²⁰ Fols. 51v., 53, 85, 89, 91, 93v., 96v., 121, 134, 152 and 174.

¹²¹ Fols. 2, 18v., 107, 146, 150, 162 and 165.

¹²² National Archives: PROB 11/13 sig. 26.

fondness for including coats of arms and badges on objects he owned, it seems highly unlikely that this manuscript was purchased for Katherine Bray's use. There are no portraits or coats of arms in the manuscript and it is difficult to identify Katherine Bray by the devotions recorded in it. There is an emphasis on St John and St Anne, but no mention of St Katherine in the suffrages (and there are a number of empty folios for such a devotion to have been added should it have been requested).¹²³ Only one leaf of the calendar now remains, but fortunately, it is the folio which contains an entry recording the obit of Katherine, on 19th December "hac die profecta est ad Deum anima D. Kat[er]ine Bray op[time?] feminae mane septima [...]" written in italics in red ink.¹²⁴ The same hand is responsible for another inscription placed above a miniature introducing the office of the dead, the raising of Lazarus, f. 104v. **III. 73** During rebinding, the top of the page has been severed, but the inscription may have begun "pray for the souls of": it certainly concludes "Kateryn Bray and of Jon Colette, Den of paules".¹²⁵ However, the commemorative nature of the inscription and obit are not enough to link the manuscript directly with Katherine's ownership.

In her will, Katherine desired that her executors should "in almighty god use in all their administracions the good advise and counsaill of Sir John Collett".¹²⁶ Her language here is revealing – Colet was not simply an executor of her will, but appears to be the individual to whom the other executors must defer. This may testify to the strength of friendship that had existed between Katherine Bray and John Colet.¹²⁷ Bray had acquired the manor of Chelsea in 1486, which subsequently formed one of the principal endowments of Katherine Bray's widowhood, giving her a property in London she may have spent considerable time at,¹²⁸ and providing her with the opportunity to pursue such a friendship. The emphasis on the two Saint Johns in the suffrages would be much more appropriate had the original owner of the manuscript been Colet himself. In his own will, Colet left a treasured book of devotion "my lytell prymer, covered with green velvet" to a certain Henry Digby.¹²⁹ A number of other books mentioned in his will were clearly described as "prynted works", suggesting that the

¹²³ British Library Additional MS. 54782, *The Hastings Hours*, has been amended at a later date to include arms and devotions appropriate for William Hastings: there is no sign of this manuscript having been altered in this way.

¹²⁴ Stonyhurst College, MS. 60, f. 1.

¹²⁵ J.J.G. Alexander, "Katherine Bray's Flemish Book of Hours" in *The Ricardian* 8 (no. 107, December 1989), p. 309.

¹²⁶ National Archives: PROB 11/15, fols. 256v.- 257.

¹²⁷ A friendship which might have been begun by her husband's dealings with Henry Colet, John Colet's father. See M. Condon, "Reynold Bray", *DNB*.

¹²⁸ M.M. Condon, "From Caitiff and Villain to Pater Patriae: Reynold Bray and the Profits of Office" in M. Hicks (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990), p. 140.

¹²⁹ National Archives: PROB 11/19, 5th October 1519.

primer was not printed.¹³⁰ The Bray Hours are certainly small – they measure 13.4 x 15.3 cm – and have also been rebound in velvet.¹³¹ It is not impossible that the two manuscripts are identical. The addition of the inscription is as likely to be a commemoration on the part of Colet (or his scribe, as Colet is the joint beneficiary of the inscription¹³²) to his friend Katherine, as it is a record of the manuscript having been owned by her.

John Colet was a major figure in early sixteenth century London. A leading constituent of the group of early Tudor Christian Humanists who included Linacre, Latimer, Fox, Urswick, Clerk, and later Erasmus, Colet may have been educated at Cambridge in the 1480s and 90s. He was subsequently admitted to the priesthood, and held a number of rectorships and deaconries before being elected dean of St Paul's c.1504-5.¹³³ Colet was known to Christopher Urswick, prebendary of St George's Chapel, Windsor, register of the Order of the Garter from 1492, and dean of Windsor between 1496 and 1505.¹³⁴ In his capacity as dean during this period, Urswick would have been responsible for overseeing the construction of the nave of St George's as provided for in Bray's will. Urswick and Bray must also have known each other well, having both started their careers in the service of Margaret Beaufort. Bray was certainly in her service by 1469, and subsequently became receiver-general and steward of the household to her third husband, Sir Henry Stafford.¹³⁵ After Sir Stafford's death, Bray took charge of domestic matters in the household of Margaret and her new husband, Sir Thomas Stanley.¹³⁶ Urswick came into the new household as Margaret's confessor. Confirmation of the friendship between Urswick and Bray may be found in the gift of stone given to Bray, at the cost of carriage, by Christopher Urswick, described as the 'rector of Assherugg', in 1499.¹³⁷

It is perhaps revealing that both Reynold and Katherine Bray are linked to this circle of influential individuals, for the Christian Humanists' desire to use education as a means of reforming the church from within, by providing for firm teaching grounded in the early Christian writers, becomes another touchstone when seeking to understand the process of patronage for the Brays. Colet had conceived of founding St Paul's school by 1508; his

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ The new binding is purple velvet.

¹³² J. B. Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet and More: The Early Tudor Humanists and their Books* (London, 1990), pp. 108-113 examines the hand writing, believing that it was more likely to be the hand of the scribe who annotated three other of Colet's manuscripts, than Colet himself.

¹³³ J. B. Trapp, "John Colet", *DNB*.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ M. K. Jones and M. G. Underwood, *The King's Mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 118.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

¹³⁷ WAM 3387.

intentions for the school were declared in his 1512 statutes – “for reformation of the same nowe sorrowfully decayed bothe in goode manners and clean litterature than good institution and bringing up of children in faith and charitie in wysdome and goode lyvyng in goode letters and laudable conversacion”.¹³⁸ The edification of knowledge was an investment the Brays clearly considered worthwhile which offers a different perspective on their patronage activities to those of Donne and Hastings. Their visible, public patronage of colleges and institutions, and the benefits to the wider community this afforded, suggests these were individuals for whom a *via activa* concept of patronage was important, in contrast to the court focussed, but personally directed, patronage activities of Donne and Hastings. Their bequests brought real benefit to educational foundations at Oxford and Cambridge, and reflect their acquaintance with the humanist reformers. Bray was appointed steward for life of Oxford University in 1494 and duly accepted the office, donating 40 marks towards the building of St Mary’s Church.¹³⁹ A stained glass window with the Bray coat of arms formerly existed in the window there. A lost Tudor dynastic window, also formerly in St Mary’s, was tricked by the herald Richard Lee in 1574.¹⁴⁰ Showing by coats of arms the descent from Cadwallader to Henry VIII, his drawing includes the arms of both ‘Henry, D of York’ and ‘Arthor, prince of Walles’, suggesting that it was commissioned between 1494 and 1502 when the latter died. Since the only non-royal coat is that of Thomas, Lord Stanley (c.1435-1504), it seems likely that he commissioned the window. The guiding hand of Margaret Beaufort may also be detected behind the Brays’ actions.¹⁴¹ It may be through his involvement in this project, as steward of Margaret Beaufort’s household, that Bray was also motivated to donate a window to the church. This fits with an image of a patron, who emulated the activities of high-ranking individuals, including the king himself.¹⁴²

He and Katherine contributed to the foundation of Pembroke and Jesus Colleges, Cambridge. In 1505, Pembroke College received lands in Cambridgeshire at Shelford, Horseheath, Borough Green and Whittlesford through the will of William Atkynson. Over this last bequest, there was some litigation as the lands had been acquired by Atkynson from Lady Willoughby, widow of a London knight, and the widowed Lady Bray; for these two

¹³⁸ A. F. Leach, “St Paul’s School Before Colet” in *Archaeologia* LXII (1910), part i. The statutes are printed p. 230.

¹³⁹ O. Manning and W. Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, (London, 1804), vol. i., p. 515. This was confirmed by letters patent in 1502. *CPR: Henry VII 1494-1509*, p. 286. Condon, “From Caitiff and Villain”, p. 146.

¹⁴⁰ Bodleian MS Wood D 14 f. 85-6. J. Goodall, “Some Aspects of Heraldry and the Role of Heralds in Relation to the Ceremonies of the Late Medieval and Early Tudor Court” in *Antiquaries Journal* 82 (2002), p. 70 and p. 75. Goodall erroneously cites this manuscript as MS Wood F. 14.

¹⁴¹ Margaret Beaufort patronised both Oxford and Cambridge Universities, before finally settling on Cambridge. Jones and Underwood, *King’s Mother*, pp. 202-232.

¹⁴² This will be explored further below.

ladies the college was then enjoined to pray.¹⁴³ Reynold's patronage of Jesus was more direct: he collaborated with John Alcock, bishop of Ely who founded the college in 1496, and may have funded some of the building work there, for Alcock died in 1500, before the endowment of the college could be fully settled.¹⁴⁴ Bray's coat of arms is still displayed, alongside Alcock's, in a window in the college hall. **III. 74** Subsequently Katherine bore the costs of appropriation for the endowment of the tithes of Great Shelford, which were given to the college by Bishop Stanley in 1506 to pay the stipends of the master of the college and the schoolmaster; the college reserved to her in her lifetime the right of nominating the schoolmaster and bound itself to celebrate yearly for her and her husband, and for a number of other individuals.¹⁴⁵ The 1507 foundation deed of the Grammar School, a tripartite indenture between Katherine Bray, the fellows and masters of Jesus College and the fellows and masters of Pembroke Hall, confirms that Katherine also made additional large donations to the college.¹⁴⁶ Katherine Bray also left money in her will for the maintenance of the highways at Eton.¹⁴⁷

Both John Alcock and Oliver King were important figures in shaping the range and focus of Reynold Bray's patronage. As bishop of Worcester from 1476, before his translation to Ely in October 1486, John Alcock was responsible for the priories of Great and Little Malvern. Circa 1485-6, a stained glass window depicting Alcock (alongside other benefactors) was placed in a south clerestory window of the nave at Great Malvern.¹⁴⁸ In 1501, the north transept window there was glazed with images depicting the Magnificat, which included portraits of Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Arthur, prince of Wales, Sir Reynold Bray, Sir John Savage and Sir Thomas Lovell.¹⁴⁹ **III. 75** Those responsible for this window would certainly have been aware of Alcock's donation of the east-end window at Little Malvern Priory, which contained lights depicting Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville.¹⁵⁰ **III. 76** Oliver King, secretary to Henry VII (as he had been to Edward IV) and bishop of Exeter, and Bath and Wells, successively, was responsible for overseeing the rebuilding of Bath Abbey from 1499. Letters survive in which Bray was consulted for advice

¹⁴³ A. Attwater, *Pembroke College, Cambridge: A Short History* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 16.

¹⁴⁴ A. Gray and F. Brittain, *A History of Jesus College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1960. Reprinted 1988), p. 27.

¹⁴⁵ Jesus College Archives, Cambridge, Steel Press Shelf 4 (Caryl 1.7). These include Sir Richard and Joan Hastings, Richard Pigott, James, Bishop of Ely, John Eccleston, Dr William Atkynson and Gilbert Eccleston, to whose industry the appropriation was due.

¹⁴⁶ Jesus College Archives, Cambridge, Steel Press Shelf 4 (Caryl 1.9). In consideration of her actions, the fellows of Jesus bound themselves to her and to the masters of Pembroke Hall.

¹⁴⁷ National Archives: PROB. 11/15, f. 256v.-257.

¹⁴⁸ G. McN. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery as illustrated by the painted windows of Malvern Priory Church* (Oxford, 1936), p. 244.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 369.

¹⁵⁰ Marks, *Stained Glass*, p. 5.

about rebuilding the abbey.¹⁵¹ Like Bray, Oliver King also died in 1503. He may have been buried in his chantry dedicated to St Saviour,¹⁵² tucked against the easterly wall of Bray's south transept chapel at St George's,¹⁵³ which bears his name and motto. **III. 2 and 124**

This dense network of friends, which hovers loosely around Windsor but ranges far wider, helps to contextualise the points of contact that might have influenced and defined the projects Reynold and Katherine Bray became involved with, perhaps also giving some insight into why their contributions took the form they did. They link his artistic ventures closely to individuals connected with the court of Henry VII, to whom Reynold would become a close friend and advisor. Polydore Vergil commented on Bray's influence at court, and with the king:

“Moreover, Reginald Bray died not much later, who was (if I may so put it) “pater patriae”. He indeed was a righteous man and one who was almost unique in his unswerving devotion to justice; when Henry fell into error he was bold enough moderately to admonish and reprove him.”¹⁵⁴

While not all may have agreed with Vergil's assertion that Bray was a “righteous man”, his closeness to Henry VII is beyond doubt. Bray's worth had been proven by his loyal service in the Beaufort household; it was repaid after Henry VII's victory at Bosworth when Bray was made chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1485, and under-treasurer of the exchequer later in 1485. He was knighted at the coronation, and remained a sworn councillor of the king throughout his life. He also held office as treasurer of England between 28 February and July 1486, before being granted a number of appointments including offices in the Welsh marches, in the north of England and in the Duchy of Chester.¹⁵⁵

Bray's ventures into the realms of artistic patronage are worthy of further consideration, for they help us to understand how he developed the experience and breadth of vision that would ultimately define the finished appearance of St George's Chapel. His projects appear to have been largely mediated through his closeness to those of influence in the Tudor regime. Prior to Henry VII's accession, the earliest artistic endeavour he can be associated with is the plan to glaze the west window at Peterborough Abbey, which must have

¹⁵¹ J. Armitage-Robinson, “Correspondence of Bishop Oliver King and Sir Reginald Bray” in *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* LX (1914), part ii.

¹⁵² *CPL: 1492-1498*, pp. 325-326.

¹⁵³ King had been a canon of St George's from 1489, and registrar of the Order of the Garter prior to Urswick's election. It is not known whether his body was buried at Windsor, or whether he was buried at Bath Abbey, as stipulated in his will. F. W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills 2*, Somerset Rolls Series 19 (1903), pp. 44-46.

¹⁵⁴ D. Hay (ed.), *The Anglica Historia Of Polydore Vergil Ad. 1485-1537*. Camden Society LXXIV (London, 1950), pp. 133-134.

¹⁵⁵ Condon, “Bray”, *DNB*, and “Caitiff and Villain,” p. 137 for further biographical detail.

been *in situ* by 1478.¹⁵⁶ **III. 77** Only fragments of this window survive in the triforium and clerestory windows of the cathedral apse, but it has been possible to reconstruct the original arrangement of the window from antiquarian sources. The five main lights, above and below the transom, consisted of panels illustrating scenes of Christ and St Peter, (the abbey was dedicated to St Peter) chiefly taken from St Matthew's Gospel. **III. 78** The tracery lights contained, in the apex, Christ in Glory, and immediately below, two angels. In the main lights were saints, and in the lowest row, angels holding shields of arms. At least three supplied the names of the donors. Two consisted of the arms of Sir Reynold Bray, and of the Beaufort family, and the third bore the arms of the Hussey family.¹⁵⁷ That the arms of both Bray and his wife are included implies that the glass was not simply realised at the behest of Margaret Beaufort, who would not necessarily have felt any need to acknowledge her household steward. The contrary is more likely: the Brays may have funded the entire (or at least part of the commission) and included the arms of Margaret Beaufort as a gift to, or acknowledgement of, their influential employer.

The relatively simple arrangement of the glazing in this window encompassing, in the main lights, donors' coats of arms and single-light images of saints, would have maximised the potential for identifying the donors. A more complicated arrangement might have offered the viewer a more layered, multi-dimensional scheme, thus drowning the donor coats of arms in this comparatively small west window. Bray would later be involved in such a scheme at Great Malvern.¹⁵⁸ As it was, the uncomplicated iconography would have worked well in this prominent situation, which would have been visible to all when leaving the abbey through the west portals.

The panels were most likely completed by a workshop based in Stamford or Peterborough; this may be synonymous with two glaziers who subsequently worked at Tattershall – John Glasier and John Wymondeswalde.¹⁵⁹ Wymondeswalde was responsible for the creation of a Magnificat window in the nave or one of the transepts at Tattershall in 1482.¹⁶⁰ This team also worked at Browne's Hospital, Stamford, on windows which can be

¹⁵⁶ R. Marks, "The Stained Glass Patronage of Reginald Bray" in *Report of the Society of the Friends of St George's* (1974), p. 200. The date is determined on the basis of the presence of the Hussey coat of arms in the scheme. Reynold Bray and Katherine Hussey were married in, or shortly before, 1478.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.* Based on the notes of John Bridges (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Topographical Northants MS. E6 pp. 81-4) and Sir William Dugdale, *Book of Draughts* (British Library Add.71474), f. 120. The Beauforts had held the nearby manors of Torpel and Maxey from early in the fifteenth century. *VCH: Northamptonshire* (London, 1930), vol. ii., p. 503 and p. 534.

¹⁵⁸ See below, pp. 108-114.

¹⁵⁹ R. Marks, "The Glazing of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall (Lincs): A Study of Late Fifteenth Century Glass Painting Workshops" in *Archaeologia CVI* (1979), p. 151.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 139.

dated to between 1475 and 1490.¹⁶¹ Margaret Beaufort had obtained the Cromwell properties at Collyweston and Tattershall in 1487 and her connection with Tattershall may have been the point of contact for Bray's later involvement with the "Twygge and Wodshawe" workshop of glass painters, who had also collaborated on a number of windows at Tattershall.¹⁶² **Ills. 76, 79 a and b.** It is not possible to establish with certainty why Twygge and Wodshawe were subsequently chosen to undertake the glazing of the north transept window at Great Malvern in 1501, but those responsible for commissioning the glass, including Sir Reynold Bray, were probably aware of their involvement in this prestigious, high-profile project. **Ill. 75** Also acting in this workshop's favour was its likely proximity to the town of Great Malvern. Their atelier may have been based in the Midlands as the greatest concentration of their surviving work is based in this area. The patron may also have appreciated the distinctive visual qualities of these artists. Individual figures have slightly elongated eyes, demarked by heavy upper lids; their upper and lower lips are moulded out of stipple shading, and separated by a strong single black line; the curls of their hair are carefully drawn and the recurring colours are ruby red, blue, green and mauve. They were considered of sufficient merit to be chosen by John Alcock to complete the glazing of the east end of Little Malvern Priory with images of Edward IV. At Great Malvern, the figures, kneeling in front of open books which lie on prayer desks, replicate the pose of their Little Malvern counterparts, but the proportional representation of each figure within each light is more precise. In the earlier work at Little Malvern, there is less regard for the accurate depiction of pictorial space, and little attempt to render the image with accurate perspective.

The north transept window at Great Malvern is divided by mullions into twelve principal lights, six above the transom and six below. **Ill. 75.** The eight central lights contain the story of the Incarnation, beginning with the annunciation and ending with the coronation of Mary, accompanied by a verse of the Magnificat above and a sentence beginning with *Gaude* below. **Ill. 80** The series was an extension of the devotion to the "Joys of Mary", here numbering eleven. Below, the lowest lights contained Bray and the other knights, kneeling and facing east, led by Henry VII. **Ill. 81** The singing of the Magnificat was assigned to the hour of vespers, and therefore had the honour of daily recitation; the representation of musical angels in the window would have linked this visual representation of this text with its daily performance. **Ill. 82.** Although focussed largely on the actions of the Virgin, v. 52 of the Magnificat may have held deeper significance for Henry VII. The lines "He has brought down rulers from their throne, but has lifted up the humble" may have been felt to be particularly pertinent in the context of Henry's victory over Richard III at Bosworth in 1485,

¹⁶¹ Marks, *Stained Glass*, p. 201.

¹⁶² Marks, "Tattershall", p. 147.

especially given Richard's likely contribution to the glazing of the west window in the priory.¹⁶³

Thomas Habington, a Worcestershire seventeenth-century antiquary, recorded what was then extant in the priory. He suggests that the north transept chapel was known as the Jesus Chapel;¹⁶⁴ it may therefore originally have housed an altar with a matching dedication. This terminology may, however, reflect the increasing tendency in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century to re-label the Lady altar in churches as the Jesus altar, a phenomenon stimulated by the growing popularity of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus which was elevated to a feast in the 1480s under the patronage of Lady Margaret Beaufort.¹⁶⁵ Scenes from the life of Jesus had formed the subject for glazing completed in the later fifteenth century, in the windows of the north aisle of the nave. The Passion was the central focus of the great east window, the largest in the church, and the first to be glazed c.1430-40.¹⁶⁶ However, scenes from the life of Mary, including details represented in the north transept window, such as the annunciation, visitation and nativity, are also found in earlier windows of the north nave aisle. The deliberate repetition of scenes, a not uncommon practice, suggests that for these donors, their favoured route to salvation was through the mediation of the Virgin Mary, possibly recalling the earlier dedication of the chapel, rather a series of images set in glass which precisely reflected the dedication to Jesus.

The ordering of this window to embrace the joys of the Virgin, as detailed in the Magnificat, adds depth and substance to the finished result; a dimension lacking in the simple narratives represented in the nave aisle windows. This is reinforced by the action of the donors, who all kneel in prayer in front of prayer-dieus. It is a common pose, but their reading from open books – perhaps the same text on which the window is based – complements the use of text above and below each scene in the window. At the very bottom of the window, below each donor, runs a bidding prayer.

“Orate [pro bono] statu [n]obilissim[i] & excellentissimi] Regis [Henrici septimi &] Elisabeth[e] regine ac d(omi)ni Arturis [principis filii] eoru(n)de(m) nec non [predilectissi] me [consortis s]ue [& suoru]m [trium] militu(m) [p(re)dicatorum]”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ See below, p. 112.

¹⁶⁴ T. Habington, *Survey of Worcestershire*, (ed.) J. Amphlett (Worcestershire Historical Society, 1899), vol. ii., p. 177 and p. 187.

¹⁶⁵ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (Yale, 1992), pp. 115-116. Her domestic clergy composed the office.

¹⁶⁶ Rushforth, *Christian Imagery*, p. 55.

¹⁶⁷ The inscription is now damaged, but was originally recorded by Habington, *Survey*, p. 188.

As the narrative of the window is orientated from bottom to top, concluding with the coronation of the Virgin in the central higher lights, this inscription would have been the visual entry point for a viewer of the window (it would also have been the easiest inscription to read, being the closest to the viewer.) Ordinary access to the spiritual is thus directed through the bidding prayer, the royal personages and their knightly attendants. The heavenly scenes have the quality of visions of the donors themselves, evoked from the pages of the books they read, and available to the ordinary viewer primarily through the minds of the donors. This is a metaphorical parallel to the very act of commissioning the window, for it is only through the generosity of the donors that these scenes were created at all.

The spiritual and temporal hierarchy of heaven, earth and England, is organised from east to west, as would have been expected. Henry VII is the most easterly donor figure, who leads his family and knightly companions in the act of prayer; **III. 83** above, the central image of the coronation (spread over three lights) is displaced from the exact centre (which in a six light window would not have been practical) slightly to the east. **III. 84** This upsets the balance of the window, but in so doing, adds a dynamic directional focus on its easterly orientation. The solution realised in this window is different to that of a comparable commission both donors and glaziers may have been aware of – the royal window depicting Edward IV and his family in the north-west transept at Canterbury. The larger Canterbury window, divided into three tiers of seven principal lights each, with four tiers of tracery lights at the top, originally contained a

“Picture of God the Father, and of Christ, besides a large Crucifix and the pictures of the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove and of the twelve Apostles. And in that window were seen seven large pictures of the Virgin Marie, in seven glorious appearances as of the Angells lifting her into Heaven, and the Sun, Moon and Stars under her feet, and every picture had an inscription under it, beginning with gaude Marie – as gaude Marie, sponsa dei, that is, rejoice Mary, Spouse of God. There were in this window may other pictures of Popish Saints, as of S. George etc. But their prime Cathedrall saint, Arch Bishop Thomas Becket, was most rarely pictured in that window, in full proportion, with Cope, Rocket, Miter, Crosier and all his Pontifcalibus. And in the foot of that window was a title, intimating that window to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary.”¹⁶⁸

As this description makes clear, the scale of this window allowed for the inclusion of single figures of saints and ecclesiastics, probably in the tracery lights, and the seven joys of

¹⁶⁸ R. Culmer, *Cathedrall News of Canterbury* (1644). The description being written two years after he had destroyed the window, pp. 21-22

Mary depicted in the middle tier of windows.¹⁶⁹ **Plan 3** Originally, the lowest tiers contained images of Edward IV, Elizabeth Woodville and other family members, with angels holding their coats of arms. These figures were beautifully naturalistic and seem to be based on paintings from life. The illusionary light source for the figures is consistent throughout, throwing the queen's face into relief, and the king's into shadow.¹⁷⁰ It is likely that the window was realised at the behest of Archbishop Bouchier, related to the king and queen by marriage, whose shield of arms appears in the summit of the tracery. The portraits in this window may have been begun c.1482-3 and finished around 1486-7.¹⁷¹ Unlike the donors in the bottom register of the Malvern windows, these figures looked both east and west, facing in towards the central light symmetrically **III. 85** It is likely that the differing solution realised at Great Malvern is dictated partly by site-specific requirements, and partly by the participants represented. Henry VII could have faced his queen, Elizabeth, in the two innermost lights, but this would have posed a problem for the remaining figures. Arthur, as prince of Wales, should no doubt have knelt behind his father, but what then of the other three knights? Courtiers of Henry VII, rather than of his wife, it would not have been appropriate to line these figures up behind Elizabeth. In addition, the symmetrical arrangement of the donor figures would have countered the offsetting of the image of the coronation above, antagonising rather than complementing, the easterly orientation of the entire glazing scheme.

Although the actions of the donors at Great Malvern replicate those of Edward IV and his family at Canterbury – the figures kneel in front of desks reading from prayerbooks, their hands raised in prayer – the design solution of each light appears very different. At Canterbury, the figures are set against backgrounds of diapered glass, dominated by a deep red, and almost turquoise blue, rather than the heavy, deep-coloured draperies and canopies framing the figures at Great Malvern. The use of a single inscription particular to each individual light, which identifies the figure in that light at Canterbury, contrasts with the running inscription found in the window at Great Malvern. At Canterbury, the result is a more static window, in which one's gaze rests on each individual light, rather than being drawn through the series of images by the dynamic use of directional space. Arguably, the Canterbury solution reduced the ability of the viewer to channel his or her bid for spiritual salvation through the individual donor figures themselves, for it encouraged the eye to pause instead of graduating upwards through the tiers of narrative scenes. The difference between these two windows suggests that in the eighteen to twenty years which separated their construction, the ability of individuals to plan and read images in space had increased in

¹⁶⁹ Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, vol. ii., p. 253.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*, p. 257.

¹⁷¹ *ibid*, p. 261.

sophistication, for the act of viewing at Great Malvern takes on a different, more involved quality. This suggests we should consider Bray's input to the second phase of building at St George's in the light of this development.

Many of the windows at Great Malvern were realised through the actions of royal, knightly, corporate and ecclesiastical individuals.¹⁷² Smaller windows in the nave and choir aisles and clerestories may have been the gifts of local families, or priors,¹⁷³ but the two largest windows, the east window and the west window, appear to have been glazed through the generosity of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and Richard, duke of Gloucester (prior to his accession to the throne as Richard III) respectively. They chose different ways of asserting their roles as patrons to the viewer. Above the great east window, prior to 1860, there was a boss covered by a shield with the arms of Beauchamp of Warwick, grouped with smaller ones of De Clare and Despenser – the arms of Richard Beauchamp and his wife, Isabella Despenser, who brought to her marriage the inheritance of the De Clare and Despenser earldom of Gloucester, including Malvern and the Chase. Their role as lord and lady of the manor, and the position of the shield asserts their special connection with this window.¹⁷⁴ Their coats of arms are also found in the glazing of the adjacent east window of the south choir aisle, which may have contained a representation of the Trinity: it is not known whether this window contained portraits of the donors.¹⁷⁵

It is heraldic evidence, rather than existence of donor portraits, that links Richard, duke of Gloucester, and his wife, Anne Neville, to the west window where the tracery lights contained the doom, and the principal lights, a continuation of single figures of saints depicted in the north clerestory. The shields are described by Habington, as having been to the right and left of the main images of the window¹⁷⁶ but now only fragments of the shield of Richard, duke of Gloucester survive, relocated to the most westerly window of the south clerestory of

¹⁷² For bishop Alcock as a patron of windows, see above p. 36.

¹⁷³ Eg. the windows in the north choir aisle appear to have been the gifts of local families, such as the De Bracy family, Rushforth, p. 320. The most easterly window of the south choir clerestory originally contained the coats of arms of Edward IV and his son, Edward, prince of Wales – John Alcock as the prince's tutor, may have commissioned these, p. 142. The west window of the north transept, which contained the *nunc dimittis* as a pendant to the neighbouring *Magnificat* appears to have been connected with prior Dene for his motto *letabor in misericordia* is repeated throughout. This window also held images of the donors, and a bidding prayer is recorded by Habington as having requested prayers for the souls of "Ricardi Bone [sic] prio(is)" and "Simonis Nicholai Agnetis Willelmi Mariane parentum eorundem", *Survey*, p. 188.

¹⁷⁴ Rushforth, *Christian Imagery*, p. 48 and pp. 50-55.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 349-351.

¹⁷⁶ Habington, *Survey*, p. 189.

the choir. The shields may originally have occupied the irregularly shaped openings at the tops of the main side-divisions of the window.¹⁷⁷

These illustrious predecessors may have provided a competitive focal point for the patrons of the north transept window – the only window still awaiting glazing at the end of the fifteenth century, which would have necessitated a greater financial investment than local families could probably afford. However, simple rivalry is not a sufficient explanation as to why Henry VII and his knights remain immortalised in the windows of Great Malvern Priory. Additionally, all those represented in the window can be shown as having some direct link with the priory and the surrounding area. Shortly before the creation of the window, as a result of the attainder and execution of Edward, titular earl of Warwick (son of George, duke of Clarence, and Isabella, one of the co-heiresses of the King-Maker¹⁷⁸), Henry VII had only finally become the undisputed lord of Malvern. Like Richard of Gloucester, his predecessor in that role, Henry may have felt it appropriate to assert his overlordship of the priory by presenting a window. That Henry's accompanying knights are included in the bidding prayer, whereas Henry's children other than Prince Arthur are not, suggests that the knights themselves may have contributed to the costs of glazing the window. **III. 81** Sir Reynold Bray had probably been born at Bedwardine in Worcestershire, and this single manor may have been his patrimony.¹⁷⁹ Habington indicates that Bray

“Offreth himself to God in this church, to which hee was not only a benefactor, but alsoe much affected, as in St John's in Bedwardine this church is paynted with him”,¹⁸⁰

implying that the portrait of Bray in the priory replicated an earlier example of Bray's portrait existing in the Bedwardine Church of St John. However, another source indicates the figure shown in this chapel was dressed in a scarlet furred gown and shown with his wife and sixteen children – as Bray was not survived by any children, it is unlikely that the two Brays are identical. It is possible therefore that the glass depicted his father and mother, and himself as one of their children.¹⁸¹ Both Sir John Savage and Sir Thomas Lovell, the other knights depicted, also had connections with the area.¹⁸²

Bray's probable contribution to, and representation within, this large window, appears more substantial than the earlier glazing scheme he had probably initiated at Peterborough.

¹⁷⁷ Rushforth, pp. 267-269 considers the evidence that Richard and Anne may have claimed hereditary ownership of Malvern in the late 1470s and early 1480s.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid*, pp. 374-5.

¹⁷⁹ Condon, “Caitiff and Villain”, p. 138.

¹⁸⁰ Habington, *Survey*, p. 187.

¹⁸¹ Marks, “Stained Glass of Bray”, p. 201.

¹⁸² Rushforth, *Christian Imagery*, pp. 373-374.

His understanding of the publicity potential of patronage had no-doubt become more sophisticated during his lifetime. However, the association of his own person with that of another more influential individual – Margaret Beaufort at Peterborough, and Henry VII at Great Malvern – remained a common feature of his activities as a patron. Yoking his own activities to those of the Tudor royal family, Bray asserted to an audience his privileged position as Henry VII's friend and confidante. The window at Great Malvern, for Bray, therefore, had an additional interpretative level. Not merely did those who viewed the window channel their bid for Mary's grace through the figures of Henry and his knights, but the knights themselves, led by Bray, are articulated as the figures closest to the king; on a temporal level therefore, Bray became a mediator for people wanting to gain the favour of Henry VII. That Bray's influence with the king *was* sought can be borne out by evidence from letters. Writing to ask his advice on the rebuilding of Bath Abbey *c.*1502, Oliver King appealed to him to intercede on his behalf with Henry VII, to avoid the appointment of an absentee precentor to the abbey, despite King having promised Henry VII in 1496 that he would accept his nominations to chief appointments.¹⁸³ The idea of approaching the king through a close adviser was hardly a new one, but the representation of this facet of Bray's relationship with the king in glass is entirely more novel. It gives a clear indication of Bray's own assessment of his achievements, and his willingness to assert his hard-earned, privileged position to the wider public in the geographical area of his birth. As we saw from William Hastings' Last Will and Testament, it confirms the importance of the local, parish level of activity in contributing to an individual's sense of self-worth, and suggests that spatial dynamics explored in representing the sacred were learned in these kind of contexts, which could then be mapped onto a larger, more prestigious space. It also provides an insight into the importance of Bray as a key figure in the court of Henry VII, whose activities as a patron have too-long awaited detailed scrutiny.

The multifaceted interpretations available to viewers of this window were no doubt intentional. Its complexity indicates that those responsible for commissioning and completing the window had thought closely about the form it should take. This was affected by the loci of place and space: the town of Great Malvern providing a suitable location in which to assert the claims of Henry VII and his knights to the area, while spatially, as an object within the priory, it both refers to, and surpasses, other windows in the foundation. The complex internal dynamics of the construction offer different interpretative levels, which may have been understood in several ways, depending on the visual sophistication of the viewer. Although it is not possible to assert that Bray was primarily responsible for the completion of this scheme,

¹⁸³ Armitage-Robinson, "Correspondence", p. 5.

a likely financial involvement can be assumed from the share he takes in the bidding prayer. Whether as prime motivator, or willing contributor, this commission is likely to have reinforced in Bray's own mind the many potentials which could accrue through the careful use of selected images within a defined space.

Bray had come a long way in the service of the Tudors from his rather humble origins. Thought to be the son of his father's second marriage, he received only a minimal endowment which does not seem to have been sufficient to support his status as a gentleman.¹⁸⁴ Inventories taken on his death, however, give a small insight into the huge wealth he had acquired during his life – a result of, and necessary adjunct to, his privileged position within the Tudor court.¹⁸⁵ He also acquired a massive landed estate, mostly through patent and purchase.¹⁸⁶ A study of these inventories gives some insight into the nature of his taste as a patron, providing a basis for comparing the sophistication of his activities undertaken at St George's and elsewhere, in comparison to those undertaken by Edward IV's courtiers.

Bray's motivation for the acquisition of office and property, in addition to the financial profits accruing from rents and dues, may have been the real and perceived temporal power the control of land and office would have given him. As his position in the Great Malvern window suggests, his ability to influence the distribution of favour to other landholders and tenants, by having the ear of the king, could have been another reason for his continuing desire to amass land and office. The inventories of his possessions at his manors of Eaton Bray and Edgcote suggest that Bray had no qualms about showing off his wealth and status, although unlike other benefactors to St George's Chapel, Sir John Donne and Bishop Oliver King, he was not obviously exempted from Edwardian sumptuary legislation.¹⁸⁷ Whether Edward IV's 1483 sumptuary statute was still widely observed under Henry VII is a moot point – the flurry of statutes in the early sixteenth century (1510, 1514 and 1515)

¹⁸⁴ Condon, "Caitiff and Villain", p. 138.

¹⁸⁵ National Archives: E 154/2/10.

¹⁸⁶ Condon, "Caitiff and Villain", p. 150. She describes this as "stretching along a belt fifteen miles either side of the present M1, from Cottesbrooke (Northants.) in the north, through Pavenham and Bedford (Beds.) to Eaton, Ledburn and Mentmore (Beds. and Bucks.) in the south; thence along the Chilterns and the Icknield way, taking Great Milton (Oxon.) as its most westerly point until the line curved in to a group circling the queen's manor of Bray (Berks.) and found its epicentre in Windsor... Estates were scattered as far west as Somerset; north to Erdington near Birmingham (Warwicks.) and into East Anglia in the east. There was a large, less conherent, agglomeration in Sussex and the counties of the south, houses in London, and the Surrey lands based on Shere, greatly expanded by the next generation."

¹⁸⁷ *Statutes of the Realm* (1810-28), vol. ii., pp. 468-470.

legislating against sumptuary excess, suggests that earlier measures were not being fully adhered to.¹⁸⁸

Knighted at the time of Henry VII's coronation, Bray would have been bound under statute that "No man under the degree of knight shall wear any Velvet in their Doublets nor Gowns;...[nor] any Damask or Satten in their Gowns, but only Esquires for the King's body, upon pain to forfeit for every Default xl s."¹⁸⁹ Bray owned twenty-one gowns, many of which were velvet – one in tawney, two in crimson (and additionally, his Order of the Garter robe); the majority were furred with marten, although one black gown was furred with fox. Many had bright-coloured linings – violet satin for a black velvet gown, tawney velvet lining for a black chamlet gown.¹⁹⁰ His inventory reveals a greater number of coloured velvet items than were owned by, for comparison, the councillor and chancellor of the exchequer to Richard III, William Catesby.¹⁹¹ The most common colour of his gowns, however – be they velvet, chamlet, damask, satin or cotton – was black, suggesting he did not depart radically from the strictures imposed by the 1483 sumptuary laws. In addition to compiling his own wardrobe, he seems to have been frequently called on to provide fabricstuffs for Henry VII's court. A number of receipts survive recording payments to Bray for the provision of luxury fabrics such as "diverse cloth of gold, purpille, riche etc." and finished items such as "iiij doublettes...[and] x yerdes velvet, tawney, for a long gowne for the kinge".¹⁹² Other material was provided for the decoration of horse harnesses and other items. In 1497, Bray was granted a licence to "clack, bard and clean 300 sacks of wool and to ship them in a king's ship called le Soverayn in the port of Southampton, and thereafter to convey them through the straits of Marrok; the said Reynold paying 5 marks a sack as custom 18 months after shipment," providing the means and contacts for this type of investment.¹⁹³

Of the many horses mentioned in Bray's inventory, one was a "grete carter to carry timber." Evidence for the renovation work he was undertaking at the old castle of Eaton Bray, for which Urswick had provided a gift of stone, and at Edgcote, is apparent in the noting of

¹⁸⁸ A. Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (London, 1996), Chapter 12 especially pp. 307-312. F. E. Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore, 1926), p. 126 observes that the only regulation passed by Henry VII consisted of legislating against the wearing of different types of hat.

¹⁸⁹ *Statutes*, p. 469.

¹⁹⁰ National Archives: E 154/2/10.

¹⁹¹ P. Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*. National Portrait Gallery Exhibition Catalogue (London, 1973), p. 97-98. Catesby's inventory also details 21 gowns, but only 5 were velvet, the remaining gowns being coloured or black gowns of unspecified materials. Incomplete as it may be, Bray's inventory is still more extensive than that of Catesby.

¹⁹² W. Campbell (ed.), *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII* (London, 1873), vol. i., p. 179.

¹⁹³ *CPR: Henry VII 1494-1509*, p. 81.

tiles, lead, “v tonnes of mesta stone at iij s le tonne”, “xl lode of tymbre at ij s. ij d. le lod” and “v waynescottes.”¹⁹⁴ By building prolifically, Bray emulated the action of other royal and noble courtiers, including William, Lord Hastings a quarter of a century earlier. Bray’s contemporary, Sir William Cope, the king’s cofferer, began a fine new castle at Hanwell after 1498;¹⁹⁵ Bray’s compatriot in the Great Malvern window, Sir Thomas Lovell, who retired as chancellor of the exchequer at the ascendancy of Wolsey in 1515, also constructed a great palace at Elsings. An inventory of 1524 records that Lovell’s residence was a large, two courtyard house with a gallery in the outer court. The house became a royal property in 1539, but no longer survives.¹⁹⁶ Both Lovell’s and Bray’s palaces were built with the intention of accommodating the king and queen on progress.¹⁹⁷ Margaret Beaufort herself undertook substantial works at Collyweston between September 1502 and June 1503 in preparation for two weeks of festivities preceding the departure of the Princess Margaret for Scotland, and her marriage to James IV. New foundations were laid along the inner court, the old walls were removed and a new lodging put up. Four great bay windows were fitted with the Beaufort arms and new battlements were constructed around the middle gate. Finishing was done with inset brick chimneys and stone facing.¹⁹⁸ These works cost some £450 – at Eaton Bray, Bray had spent over £1800 by 1501.¹⁹⁹

Items for use in the chapel at Eaton Bray, (dedicated to St Nicholas²⁰⁰) were valued at 16s 8d, but only a vestment of russet damask with an alb bordered with crowns, and an old vestment of black damask were noted in the inventory. The chapel seems, however, to have been furnished with carved images of saints in wood and stone. Accounts tendered by John Astholm, receiver at Eaton, record a number of payments to masons, Richard Jackson and “his man”, and Richard Weston and Thomas “the carpenter” for their work there.²⁰¹ The carpenters were paid for the Saints Margaret, John, Lawrence, Michael, Edward, Luke, Simon and Jude, and the masons, for Saints Michael, Edward, Luke, Simon and Jude. It is not possible to ascertain how these figures were organised, but the selection (which does not correlate with those in the book of hours associated with Katherine Bray) is a typical example of popular saints – many of them would have been represented in any parish church. The

¹⁹⁴ National Archives: E 154/2/10.

¹⁹⁵ Cope had also started his career in the service of Margaret Beaufort. Jones and Underwood, *King’s Mother*, p. 79.

¹⁹⁶ M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House* (London, 1987), p. 210.

¹⁹⁷ S. Gunn, “Sir Thomas Lovell c. 1449-1524: A New Man in a New Monarchy” in J. Watts (ed.), *The End of the Middle Ages: England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Stroud, 1998), p. 135.

¹⁹⁸ Inventory and accounts, Cambridge, St John’s College Archives, D91/14. M. K. Jones, “Collyweston – an Early Tudor Palace” in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 134-135.

¹⁹⁹ WAM 3387, 9219 and National Archives: E154/2/10.

²⁰⁰ R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, (Stroud, 2004), p. 31.

²⁰¹ WAM 4023.

selection is not as extensive as those chosen to adorn the chapel of Margaret Beaufort at Collyweston, which included Saints Margaret, Mary Madgalene, George, Anne, Peter and Anthony: Morley was later to recall that her chapel was equal to the king's own.²⁰² However, the omission of name saints in Bray's chapel (particularly of St Katherine given the frequency with which she figured in late medieval devotion), and an image of the chapel's dedicatee, St Nicholas, suggests that this list of account was not exhaustive.

There are few specific inferences about his taste that can be drawn from his inventory and from the above account. There are no books mentioned, but this does not mean he did not own any – items such as the antiphoner, which is likely to have been used in the household chapel, may have been included on a separate inventory which no longer survives. Nothing indicates he owned any unusual objects of status and none of the saints in the chapel were unusual. Instead, his inventory reveals generalised investment in objects of prestige, the precise details about which are frustratingly wanting.²⁰³ He owned a huge collection of fabricstuffs in total including clothing, tablecloths, counterpoints of tapestry and carpets (four small, and one large, embossed with the tudor emblem of the “white rose and the red”²⁰⁴ – a clear statement of his allegiance to his Tudor patrons, who may have seen these items on visits to the Bray household). He owned standards and banners with his coats of arms, and numerous “featherbeds”, with linen, bolsters and hangings – trappings appropriate for a man of his status and influence. He also owned tapestry from Arras and luxury metal objects – polychrome silver and gilt, a horn with a cross of gold garnished with silver and gilt, and beads (presumably rosary beads – possibly those left by Katherine Bray in her will²⁰⁵) of silver and gilt.²⁰⁶

The extent and quality of his possessions suggests that Bray was fully aware that the cultivation of “magnificence” by one who hoped to acquire status and influence, was essential. Henry VII, as Edward IV had previously, laid particular emphasis on the cultivation of splendour in the “above stairs” household,²⁰⁷ and Bray's accumulation of such objects, according to his estate, reflects Fortescue's assessments of the value of investment in such objects. It also accords with Fortescue's instructions that if his realm appears to be rich in

²⁰² Jones, “Collyweston”, p. 133.

²⁰³ This is not unusual however. Inventories of the period, particularly English inventories, generally contain little detailed information, instead resembling lists.

²⁰⁴ Henry VII visited Bray at his Edgcote residence in 1498. “Bray”, *DNB*.

²⁰⁵ National Archives: PROB 11/15.

²⁰⁶ Jones, “Collyweston,” p. 133. Inventories of Margaret Beaufort's moveable wealth are also noticeable for the magnificence of tapestry and plate.

²⁰⁷ Jones, “Collyweston”, p. 133.

every estate, honour was accorded to the king by proxy.²⁰⁸ The process of amassing the goods recorded in the inventory parallels Bray's acquisition of estate after estate, office after office, in a bid to remove himself by wealth as far as possible from his origins. Whether he was fully emancipated from the constraints of his birth, in the minds of contemporaries, is not altogether clear. The authors of the *Great Chronicle* described him as an individual "playn and rowth in speech"²⁰⁹ and it has been suggested that his failure to become a peer may reflect Henry VII's sensitivity to matters of occasion and honour.²¹⁰

Perhaps this also explains his failure to be admitted to the Order of the Garter prior to 1501. The evidence concerning Donne's focus on securing an election to the Order of the Garter, gives some indication of the extremely high regard in which this privilege was held. It is difficult to believe that Bray was immune to the wordly recognition he would have accrued by securing election to the order. Surviving records indicate elections for new members were held in the fourth and fourteenth years of Henry's reign. In 1499, Bray was nominated for election by just one of the Garter Knights, Sir Gilbert Talbot.²¹¹ Unfortunately the details of his election two years later are not recorded, making it impossible to ascertain whose support he had subsequently acquired. Bray was not a Garter Knight when his portrait was placed in the Great Malvern window whereas his companions, Sir Thomas Lovell and Sir John Savage, were, Lovell having been elected in 1500 and Savage in 1489.²¹² Margaret Condon has detailed Bray's gradual shift of focus towards Windsor in terms of land acquisition after 1494.²¹³ Why Bray decided in the final decade of the fifteenth century that Windsor should form the nucleus of his lands is worthy of further consideration, especially with regard to his likely desire to secure admission to the Order of the Garter. There was certainly no residency requirement to becoming a Garter Knight, but Bray's presence as a major landholder in the vicinity may have allowed him to exert a certain degree of control over affairs at Windsor, although there was no obvious precedent for such an occurrence.

However, it is also possible that Windsor became more important throughout the final decade of the fifteenth century because of Henry VII's interest in the chapel as the potential site for his tomb. In 1494, Henry had secured papal permission to suppress Luffield Priory and use its revenues to build a new Lady Chapel besides St George's. In a second bull, the pope granted an indulgence for the new Lady Chapel in which he intended to choose his place

²⁰⁸ Plummer, *Fortescue*, pp. 124-125 and pp. 139-140.

²⁰⁹ *Great Chronicle*, f. 325.

²¹⁰ Condon, "Caitiff and Villain", p. 159.

²¹¹ Anstis, *Register*, vol. i., p. 239.

²¹² *ibid.*, p. 231.

²¹³ Condon, "Caitiff and Villain", pp. 152-154.

of burial.²¹⁴ On 1 March 1497, letters patent were issued to Margaret Beaufort to convey to St George's the rectories of Cheshunt and Swineshead and to endow the canons with land valued at £150 to support four chaplains in a chantry.²¹⁵ In 1497, Christopher Urswick officially accepted her proposal to found a chantry there near the king's.²¹⁶ By the spring of 1498, the Lady Chapel was probably nearing completion, although it had not been vaulted. These plans were ultimately not realised because, as a result of the dispute between Westminster, Chertsey and Windsor, the abbot of Westminster managed to persuade the king that the saintly Henry VI had wanted to be buried in Westminster Abbey, and the whole scheme was accordingly moved to Westminster. After 1498, therefore, work must have moved back to the main chapel, probably beginning with the insertion of the aisle vaults on either side of the choir. Margaret Beaufort cancelled her agreement for the Windsor chantry, and obtained a license for Westminster to appropriate the two rectories formerly granted to Windsor.²¹⁷

Aligning Bray's focus on Windsor with that shown by his two patrons, Margaret Beaufort and Henry VII, and the election of his old friend Urswick as dean of Windsor in 1495, provides a clearer insight into his actions. Just as Donne had shown interest in securing admission to the Order of the Garter in 1475, after Edward IV had begun building the earlier part of the chapel, so was Bray's interest piqued by Windsor and its Garter associations after Henry VII devolved his patrimony on the building. Bray must have become very aware at this point that, although a close confidante of the king, he was not a member of his esteemed circle of Garter Knights. The exclusivity of honour could not always be obtained by the ownership of mere riches: in retrospect, Bray would have perhaps considered the many examples of coats of arms encircled by the garter, carved into the finished nave of St George's, to be his greatest achievement.

Bray's accomplishments as a Garter Knight were to be cut short by his death in 1503, but for St George's, his election proved fortunate. The substantial sum he willed for the completion of the chapel would have been a welcome relief from the financial uncertainties which had dogged the building since Edward IV's death.²¹⁸ The extent to which Bray himself may have been responsible for determining the finished form of the nave at St George's is not altogether clear. The only brief given in his will for matters of design was that the chapel should be "perfourmed and finished according and after the fourme and entent of the foundation therof," suggesting we should look to others for any design decisions taken about

²¹⁴ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 498.

²¹⁵ *CPR: Henry VII 1494-1509*, p. 79.

²¹⁶ St George's Chapel Archives, MS XV.58. c13.

²¹⁷ Jones and Underwood, *King's Mother*, p. 208.

²¹⁸ See Introduction above.

the nave construction.²¹⁹ In view of Bray's experience in building and glazing projects elsewhere, however, it is likely that Bray had been involved with the work which had taken place throughout the 1490s. He had probably given at least general directions for aspects of the finished chapel, such as its glazing scheme.²²⁰ When leaving instructions for his own chantry chapel in his will, he asked for his "sinfull body to be buried within the castell of Windesore in the west end and south side of the same church within the chapelle *there newe made by me* for the same entent."²²¹ [my italics] Bray's south transept chapel (which would have been at the "west end" prior to the completion of the nave), had therefore most likely been brought close to completion prior to his death, although the finishing details were to be realised by his executors who "immediately after my decesse shall cause a convenient tumber to be made in the said chapelle in all godly haste after my decesse as may be if it be not made in my life."²²¹ **III. 86**

Bray's previous experience in architectural and glazing projects would have given him a profound insight into the benefits, both spiritual and temporal, which could accrue from funding this kind of project. Bray was evidently closely involved with architectural matters, indicated by Oliver King's letters to Bray regarding the construction of the vault over Bath Abbey in which King asked for Bray's advice about the "Writing of Recesse," drawn up by the Vertue brothers and himself, for King believed himself "the shorter in that behalf".²²² King went on to suggest that Bray had been present in person at Bath Abbey, supervising the work there "in myn absence" and "geve[ing] no licence to eny free mason to absent hym from this building". The appeal by King for Bray to "Remembre Mr Dautre for the Normandy glasse and Mr Cunseby for our boke for our chanteryres and other suffraiges" implies his support may have been financial as well as technical. At Windsor, Bray's evident acquaintance with Robert Janyns (son of Henry Janyns who had been documented working at Windsor prior to 1484²²³), who was working in the upper ward at Windsor c.1499-1500,²²⁴ indicated by his request for Janyns to undertake repairs in his residence at Princes Risborough, provides further evidence for his intimate involvement in such matters.²²⁵ It may confirm a tentative suggestion that Janyns was the master mason behind the completion of the nave.²²⁶ This choice would have been a logical one as Janyns may still have had his father's plans to

²¹⁹ National Archives PROB 11/13 sig. 26.

²²⁰ Wayment, "Medieval Stained Glass", p. 28.

²²¹ National Archives PROB 11/13 sig. 26

²²² Armitage Robinson, "Correspondence", p. 4.

²²³ See above, Chapter One, p. 34.

²²⁴ Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 160.

²²⁵ WAM 16077.

²²⁶ Tatton-Brown, "Constructional Sequence", p. 16.

hand. William Vertue, along with John Aylmer, rather than his brother Robert who had died in 1506, can only be documented at Windsor after this date.²²⁷

Although Bray was consulted for advice, the inability to clearly distinguish the roles of other individuals in the projects with which Bray was concerned means the evidence for close analysis of his personal taste is inadequate. In King's appeal to Bray to allow the masons at Bath Abbey no licence for absence, is there a fear that Bray may requisition the masons for the work at St George's, or that Henry VII may call them to Westminster to ensure the speedy completion of the Lady Chapel? If so, this might be a tacit recognition that Bray may have appreciated the skills of the Vertue brothers responsible for vaulting Bath Abbey. The ambiguity of the source mitigates against pursuing this further, but the parallel assumption that he looked, compared and judged for himself the achievements being realised in stone is one we can more safely assume Bray was likely to make.

Bray's understanding of the potential to use space effectively, achieved through a lifetime's engagement with such projects, is clearly evident. Bray founded a number of chantries, although some were attached to an existing altar within a building rather than distinct architectural structures. In February 1485-6 a chantry in the Lady Chapel of Trinity Church, Guildford, was founded by letters patent and granted to Elizabeth of York, Margaret Beaufort, Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir Reynold Bray, William Smith, Henry Norbrigge, Thomas Kyngeston and John Clopton, and was endowed with lands to the yearly value of ten marks.²²⁸ Sometime prior to 1499, Bray had matched his contribution to the glazing at Peterborough, by founding a chantry chapel there.²²⁹ This was attached to an existing structure – the rood altar. The letters from Oliver King, above, indicate that he was considering founding a chantry at Bath Abbey. Almost Bray's first act as lord of Eaton was to establish a chantry there;²³⁰ in this instance their private chapel itself rather than an additional architectural structure, may have formed the chantry. Bray, and a number of others including Christopher Urswick, received a licence to found a chantry for one chaplain in a "newly built chapel" annexed to the parish church of All Saints, Gainsborough, at the altar of St Mary the Virgin. Prayers were to be said for the good estate of the king and queen, his mother, Reynold Bray, and for the souls of Thomas Burgh, knight, Margaret his wife, and for their parents,

²²⁷ Harvey, *Mediaeval Architects*, p. 306.

²²⁸ Manning and Bray, *History and Antiquities of Surrey*, vol. i., pp. 48-49.

²²⁹ A. Hamilton-Thomson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), p. 114.

²³⁰ Condon, "Caitiff and Villain", p. 147.

while lands were provided to the value of £18 a year.²³¹ He also facilitated the endowment and transfer of chantries for his patron, Margaret Beaufort.²³²

He was further responsible for the construction of a number of ceremonial events. Henry VII employed Bray and Lord Abergavenny to liaise with the London City guilds about the arrangements for the celebrations of Arthur and Katherine of Aragon's wedding.²³³ One lengthy source detailing preparations for the wedding glosses over Bray's input.²³⁴ We are informed simply that the "maire, citizens and craftes of London attende upon the said princesse, at the cross of the Chepe, ayenst her commyng to the citie, in such a maner and such solempnitie, and with suche pageants and ceremonye as thei have devised for thonour of the cities, and of the fest, whereof they shallbe advertised by the lord Bergevenny".²³⁵ In the *Chronicles of London*, however, there is additional information about the nature of these pageants, which included a "goodly pageant of karvyn werke paynted and gilded in most costle maner, standing upon the Drawe brigge; wherein were set ij personages princypall, that oon representing Saynt Kateryn and that other of Saynt Ursula with dyuers living virgins".²³⁶ A further tableau showed a complex representation of Prince Arthur within a sphere of sun – a cosmic representation hinting at solar apotheosis. The prince would have been identified as both Christ the redeemer and Christ the son of Justice, while in the following scene, Henry VII was depicted as God the Father.²³⁷ Bray's understanding of the dramatic staging of splendid pageant and ceremony, with the accompanying speeches and allegorical allusion appropriate to this richest of contexts, must have been enhanced by his involvement in this project. Bray had also been involved in the funeral arrangements for John Stafford, Margaret Beaufort's second husband, who died in 1471, which would have given him insight into the trappings appropriate for the construction of a very different type of ritual.²³⁸ One of Edward IV's reasons for embarking on the rebuilding of St George's in 1475 was his desire to have a royal chapel with the spatial potential to host a number of different ceremonies, both funerary and celebratory. Bray's prior involvement in planning such ceremonies would most likely have refined his ability to "read" the potential St George's offered as a ceremonial, sacred space.

²³¹ CPR: Henry VII 1495-1507, p. 171.

²³² Condon, "Caitiff and Villain," p. 152.

²³³ Jones and Underwood, *King's Mother*, p. 77.

²³⁴ Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers*, vol. i., p. 404. ff.

²³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 411.

²³⁶ C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 234-250.

²³⁷ S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), p. 109.

²³⁸ WAM 5479**

Bray's expertise in this area was utilised in the 1490s when Henry VII embarked on a rapid building programme designed to enhance the prestige of the Tudor dynasty. After a visit to Leicester in 1495, Henry decided that the corpse of Richard III should receive a proper burial and tomb, charging Bray and Lovell with seeing the project through to completion. Holinshed indicates that after his death on Bosworth Field in 1485, Richard III's body was dragged from Bosworth to Greyfriars at Leicester, where it was interred without ceremony.²³⁹ In 1495, however, Bray and Lovell drew up a contract with a Nottingham alabasterman Walter Hill, to construct a tomb.²⁴⁰ This craftsman had also undertaken contracts for church furnishings including a tabernacle of St Philip in St Peter's Church.²⁴¹ There is little information about the appearance of the tomb, or of its location within Greyfriars; Holinshed merely indicates that "king Henry VII ordered a tomb to be made, and set up over the place where he was buried, with a picture of alabaster representing his person."²⁴² Bray's intimate involvement with this project, which may have necessitated a consideration of the potential for funerary monuments to function as propaganda, may have helped focus his attention on the relationships between form and space, a fuller understanding of which would inform the future plans for his own monument at St George's.

Was Bray also inspired by Henry's efforts to assert the legitimacy of his lineage, to investigate the claims of his own line of Bray? Margaret Condon has observed Bray's "reconstruction of a history, real or supposed, for himself and its concrete expression through a necessarily interrupted title to, and association with, land."²⁴³ In 1502, Bray purchased an interest in East Haddon (Northants) as a connection between it and the name of Bray could be traced to the thirteenth century in source known as Kirkby's Quest. From 1497, Bray quartered (by grant of the heralds) the arms of the ancient, knightly, Northamptonshire family of Bray with his own.²⁴⁴ The creation of a history corresponds with the lavish spending on his manors at Eaton Bray and Edgcote, providing a fictional heritage for this greatest of royal councillors. As his wealth and political might increased, Bray's process of digging ever-deeper to assert his honour, lineage, credibility and trustworthiness to his Tudor king, suggest a keen awareness of the humble origins his social mobility had not enabled him to obscure – the very shortcomings which may have prevented his admission to the Order of the Garter hitherto.

²³⁹ H. Ellis, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1808), vol. ii., p. 98.

²⁴⁰ National Archives: C 1/206/69 a dispute over the unwillingness of one party to put his name to the document, refers to the original contract.

²⁴¹ R. Edwards, "King Richard's Tomb at Leicester" in *The Ricardian*, III no. 50 (1975), p. 8.

²⁴² Ellis, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. ii., p. 99.

²⁴³ Condon, "Caitiff and Villain", p. 141.

²⁴⁴ British Library MS Harl. 6157, f. 4.

These projects must have bred familiarity with matters of spiritual profit, dynastic self-promotion, and ceremonial celebration (or commemoration). Realising a diversity of projects ranging from the insertion of quarries bearing his hemp-brake badge in the manor church of Shere²⁴⁵ and the glazing of the north transept at Great Malvern, to the creation of the giant funerary monument stamped with his gartered coats of arms and hemp brake badges that is the nave at Windsor, must also have honed Bray's appreciation of the adaptability of architectural function and form. The decisions made about Windsor that we can associate directly with Bray therefore need to be considered in the light of this accumulated knowledge of the way precedent could be adapted to a particular sacred space, for the greatest profit of Bray's soul and family name.

Bray would certainly have been aware of Henry VII's plans for a chantry chapel at Windsor, and probably visited the building on a number of occasions given his closeness to both Henry VII and Christopher Urswick. There is no evidence that Henry's own plans for Windsor involved Bray, in the way that Edward IV made provision for his loyal courtier, Lord Hastings, and probably Sir John Donne, to be buried in close proximity to him. In the intimacy of the new Lady Chapel, bathing in the sanctity of the reinterred Henry VI, Henry VII's dynastic cocoon would not have provided a space for the "rowth" Bray. However, it is not impossible that Bray had been encouraged by Henry VII or Margaret Beaufort to found a chantry in the main body of the chapel, aware of the precedent set by Edward IV. The likelihood of Bray acquiring a tomb close to his king would have been even smaller once Henry VII had abandoned his plans for Windsor in favour of burial in the Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, which might explain why this did not necessitate a change of heart for Bray. On the contrary the withdrawal of royal support from Windsor provided an opportunity for the new Garter Knight and loyal courtier, who would assist with the foundation stone laying ceremony at Westminster Abbey in January 1503,²⁴⁶ to step into the void created by the second withdrawal of royal support for the building works at Windsor.²⁴⁷ Having secured a stamp of royal approval by his election to the Order of the Garter, the opportunity funding the chapel's completion offered to glorify his gains and influence, and the potential to acquire a large funerary chapel and chantry there, must have proved too exciting an opportunity to pass by.

The zoned use of space already apparent at Windsor, with its solemn, Yorkist north choir-aisle axis and popular, Lancastrian bias along the south choir-aisle, (where the body of

²⁴⁵ Marks, "Stained Glass of Bray", p. 201.

²⁴⁶ Jones and Underwood, *King's Mother*, p. 209.

²⁴⁷ The first having been the cessation of work after the death of Edward IV in 1483.

Henry VI had been re-interred in 1484), was almost certainly a governing factor underlying Bray's decision to choose the south transept chapel as the site for his tomb. **III. 86** Opposite, in the north transept, lay the tomb of Edward IV's sister, Anne, duchess of Exeter, and that of her husband, Thomas St Leger. Luck played its part too, for fortunately the large space in the south transept had not yet been claimed. This available space was substantially larger than the small chapel which Hastings had constructed, in the adjacent bay to Edward IV – a factor Bray is likely to have appreciated. Compared to the enclosed, dim structure which commemorated an earlier loyal courtier of a rival dynasty, Bray's hexagonal chantry benefited from large, ten light windows, in each of the five exterior walls. No record of the glazing scheme survives, but given Bray's previous patronage of windows, he may well have regarded this as another opportunity for a visual display of his personal power and spiritual propriety.²⁴⁸

Bray may also have been motivated to choose this spot by its situation on perambulatory routes within the building. On the completion of the nave, the south door would have provided another means of access into the building, meaning visitors may have entered the building directly adjacent to Bray's chantry. **III. 25** Looking around to orientate oneself within the building, his chantry would have been the first point of visual contact for many. When the west end doors were used for entry (probably not until some years later, due to the need to construct earthworks over which a flight of steps could be created), the most well-trodden paths would have been along the south side of the building, as visitors headed to the shrines of Henry VI, John Schorn, and the relic of the True Cross situated in the south choir aisle. Even when it was looking likely that Henry VI would be translated to the new tomb within Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, Bray would still lie along the pilgrims' path to the True Cross and John Schorn shrines.²⁴⁹ A papal bull Alexander VI issued to the chapel in 1503, confirmed the indulgences and privileges to the "New Church in the course of erection as were enjoyed by the Old Church". This bull was addressed to the "dean and chapter of the church... and to Sir Reginald Bray, knight," suggests Bray was influential in securing this reassertion of old privileges, which would have brought more pilgrims to the chapel on the feasts for which remission of sins were granted.²⁵⁰

Furthermore, on the completion of the nave, the complexity of established visual reference points along the north choir aisle perambulatory route during St George's Day Garter ceremonies, would have intensified. Robing in the chapter house, before processing

²⁴⁸ See above, Introduction. Thirteen of his hemp brake badges survive in the cusping of the main lights of the nave clerestory and the south-west transept chapel.

²⁴⁹ Above, Chapter One. The location of relic sites within the building will be considered further in Chapter Four.

²⁵⁰ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, Papal Bull 10.

along the north aisle, and into the choir through its west end, the procession would have paused momentarily, facing the south transept, before turning in to the choir.²⁵¹ A constant visual reminder of Bray, the generous Garter Knight, would therefore have been provided to those whose esteem he had sought during his life. There were many further visual prompts to his generosity – Bray's coat of arms, both with and without the garter, appear in all of the severies of the nave, except number six, as well as appearing in both the north and south aisles.²⁵² **III. 71** The use of his hemp brake rebus is even more prolific. **III. 72** Each transept boss is also inscribed with the letters H for Henry, R for Rex, K for Katherine, all in capital letters, and b for Bray in small letters. This overwhelming assertion of his closeness to Henry VII and his family, paraphrases in stone the spatial hierarchy presented in the north transept window at Great Malvern, where it is Bray who kneels closest to the royal family, leading Henry's other courtiers in devotion.

Bray's legacy would have been audible, sounds being easily carried from the low openings in the dividing wall between chantry-transept and the nave of St George's. In addition to the "preest perpetually to be founded to saye masse daily in the said chapel and therein also to say daily placebo and dirige, begyning at the hour of ij after noon", Bray left funds in his will for a "trentall of masses to be seid in the church the day of my burying there and another trentall of masses to be seid within the same church the xxxth daye next after my dethe".²⁵³ Katherine augmented his provisions in her 1507 will:

"Then I will and desire the good devoute chantery preests belonging to the college of Wyndesor in...shortly after they may conveniently goo in the quere to say devoutly a psalter. And I for their charitie in that behalf offer and bequeth to any body of the saide chantery preeste ij s iiij d. And the next day after my death I desire also in the same college of Wyndesor a trentall of masses to be saide assigning to any minister thereof iiij d. Also as long as my corpse shall tary there above the grounde in the said college I will that every day be ministered in the said college dirige and masses by most."²⁵⁴

Between them, they show a very specific awareness of the relationship between commemorative ritual and the dimensions of time and space. Initially both Reynold and Katherine's deaths were to be marked by a trentall of masses; subsequently the office of the dead was said in their memory. Reynold Bray specified that this should take place at a particular time – the hour of two after noon (when light would flood into his chantry chapel

²⁵¹ Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, pp. 352-353.

²⁵² Cave and Stanford-London, "Roof-bosses", p. 118.

²⁵³ National Archives: PROB 11/13 sig. 26.

²⁵⁴ National Archives: PROB 11/15, f. 256v.-257.

through the many windows). Katherine Bray's will requested that prior to her interment, initial ceremonial should take place in the most sanctified section of the building – the choir. Like her husband, she also requested the daily recitation of dirige and masses for the long-term commemoration of her and Reynold's souls. Their demands are a site-specific adaptation of those found in thousands of medieval wills; the scale of provision, and the details governing its execution, both honour their privileged positions as royal servants and primary benefactors to the chapel, and set them apart from other individuals. Neither mention the other chantry chapels founded in their names throughout Reynold's life,²⁵⁵ suggesting that their main focus was on defining the realities of ritual in this foundation in particular.

There is no surviving source describing the funeral of Reynold Bray, but for an appreciation of the visuality of this event, it may be possible to turn to the funeral of another Knight of the Garter, Sir Thomas Brandon, in January 1510. A receipt for this funeral survives, recording payments to a painter for work undertaken in connection with the ceremony.²⁵⁶ A certain "Master Browne W. Whiting" was paid for painting a coat of Brandon's arms, a banner of his arms, and a shield of his arms. In addition, the trappings included a girdle and garnishings for his sword, crests with tassels, the making of helms and mantels, a dozen escutcheons with garters, and other flags and banners costing a total of £6 12s and 3d. The presence of many heraldic devices, in which the garter featured prominently, and the special decoration of his sword, are likely also to have featured at Bray's funeral, and would have resonated particularly appropriately within the foundation visited by the Knights of the Garter. The temporary armorial decorations would have echoed the permanent Bray badges, carved in stone throughout the structure.

At St George's the legacy of the Brays was concentrated upon a space that was at once functional and sacred, and which offered the opportunity for both public recognition and personal salvation. There is a parallel in the complexity of visual signifiers offered by the figures kneeling at the bottom of the Great Malvern window; each figure throws a representational ideal of the devout individual back to the viewer, while at the same time kneels as an honourable public representative of the ordered, elitist, Tudor court. The public face of Katherine's legacy is complemented by the private gifts of her personal possessions and devotional aids, "to my lord the preest a payre of beydes of gold and to the bishop of Rochester a ryng of gold with a grene stone".²⁵⁷ The posthumous gift of rosary beads,

²⁵⁵ See above p. 122.

²⁵⁶ From BL. Add. MS 45131, f. 153v.-154v. Reprinted in A. Payne, "Sir Thomas Wriothesley and his Heraldic Artists" in M. Brown and S. McKendrick (ed.), *Illuminating the Book. Makers and Interpreters: Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse* (Toronto, 1998), p. 155.

²⁵⁷ National Archives: PROB 11/15.

sanctified by having passed through her hands during a lifetime's recitation of private and public prayer, hints at the overlapping realms of private and public sacred space. The significance such objects held, depended on the context they were used in; their visible value and quality something Katherine Bray would appreciate in public as in private. When worshipping in their local parish church at Eaton Bray, the superior quality of her rosary beads in comparison to those owned by other parishioners would have been apparent. The exclusivity of the Brays would have been emphasised by separate seating and other symbols of status,²⁵⁸ confirming that seeing and being seen within the parish context was important.²⁵⁹ The Westminster Abbey antiphoner Bray had owned, decorated throughout with his badges and coats of arms, placed a personal assertion of self at the very heart of the sacred liturgy: singers from the manuscript would sing not only for the glory of God, but also for the patron whose arms they could see on the page.²⁶⁰ Its creation was representative of an act of personal generosity at a particular moment in time, while its subsequent legacy as an artefact owned by the Bray family, in which the benevolence of Bray himself is recorded, records this act of spiritual generosity for future generations, whose public and private prayers would secure the salvation of Katherine's and Reynold's souls.

St George's itself, however, was not the Brays' private concern. Henry VII may have abandoned the building for Westminster Abbey, but this was still a favoured royal chapel, home to the foremost European order of chivalry. The phrase "perfourmed and finished according and after the fourme and entent of the foundacion therof", found in Bray's will also alludes to the roles played by other Garter Knights, the dean of Windsor, Christopher Urswick, and perhaps the input of Oliver King prior to his death in 1503, in bringing the nave to completion. In this unique foundation, the multifarious requirements of the royal family, Garter Knights, and college, articulated through representatives of each, would have made their impression on the finished appearance of the building. The nave roof bosses record the actions of other individuals, including Christopher Urswick, for example. **III. 87** Although the accounts for the construction of the nave no longer survive, it was probably only nearing completion by 1506, at which point Urswick laid claim to the smaller northern chantry chapel at the west end of the nave. **III. 28** With three years of building work to be overseen after Bray's death, the co-operation of Brays friends would have been crucial in realising the project. In the absence of documentation, however, the relative input of these different individuals remains opaque.

²⁵⁸ Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 31.

²⁵⁹ See above, p. 78 and p. 114.

²⁶⁰ B. J. Blackburn, "For whom do the singers sing?" in *Early Music* (1997), p. 595.

The contract for the next stage of the building work, the vaulting of the choir in 1506, does survive and shows evidence for the kind of collaboration necessary to realise a project as grand as the completion of St George's.²⁶¹ It was drawn up between John Aylmer and William Vertue, freemasons, and the lord steward, the lord chamberlain and Sir Thomas Lovell on behalf of the sovereign and knights of the Order of the Garter; if their advice and support had been sought at this later stage, it is highly likely that some were consulted about earlier proposals – probably including the Garter Knight Sir Thomas Lovell, Bray's compatriot in the window at Great Malvern.

Certainly, Lovell served his former friend well during the Garter ceremonies to commemorate Bray's death during the meeting in the nineteenth year of Henry's reign (1504). The ceremonial accorded to Bray is recorded. At the mass of the dead, which took place on the day following St George's Day,

“Sir Edward Poynyngs, and Sir Richard Poole offered the Banner of George Strange who died a little before, the Earl of Essex and Sir Richard Goulford his Sword, Sir Thomas Lovell and Sir Edward Poynyngs his Helmet; and afterwards in the same honourable order Sir Richard Goulford and Sir Richard Poole offered the Banner of Sir Reginald Bray, Sir Thomas Lovell and Sir Edward Poynyngs his Sword.”²⁶²

In common with the order's statutes, the ritual offering of a dead knight's achievements marked a formal recognition by surviving knights of their former compatriots' actions. This ritual was a simplified model of the ceremony accorded to kings on their decease, and also recalls the highly focussed funeral of Bertrand du Guesclin. According to the established hierarchy, Bray's achievements were only offered after those of a peer of the realm, Lord Strange, had first been offered. There is no evidence that Bray sought a peerage – this honour had to wait for the next generation of Brays, in the person of his nephew, Edmund, later Lord Bray. For Bray, his elevation to the chivalric band of favoured Tudor adherents was likely to have been the epitome of his achievements. Commemorated on his death by his fellow Garter Knights, in the building he had funded, by a ceremony conducted in the choir – the most sanctified part of the building – only a few yards away from where his body lay in his chantry chapel, Reynold Bray's skill as a statesman, patron and social climber had been recognised by all who mattered.

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²⁶¹ This is transcribed and printed in St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., pp. 460–461.

²⁶² Anstis, *Register*, vol. i., p. 246.

The actions of this one individual, self-taught in the language of visual self-promotion in the household of Margaret Beaufort and the court of Henry VII, provides a useful insight into the overlapping dimensions of public and private, and offers evidence for the playing out of these in spatially dynamic ways. Unlike the noble Hastings, Bray was not born to privilege. Achieving the Garter accolade, and securing a chantry chapel in a royal foundation arguably second only in importance to Westminster Abbey, rested on his mastery of the potential to manipulate visual forms, in addition to his skill in the accumulation of land, office and wealth. Bray's alertness to the vagaries and nuances of form and ceremony, learned through his construction of ceremonies for his royal patrons and his own activities as a patron of artists and architects throughout his life, crucially dictated the final form of the nave and his chantry chapel at St George's.

Studying the activities of these three patrons has shown how courtiers, through use and experience, could define this sacred building for later generations. The decisions they made when planning their spaces in St George's place the chapel within alternative contexts – the wider, international one and a smaller one of local community: the actions of Hastings, Donne and Bray shaped, and were shaped by, both foreign art forms, and familiarity with social codes that prevailed in smaller, English parish institutions. Thus through these activities, the links between parish and community, sovereign and country which helped to mould the building are made more explicit, and it becomes easier to relate the chapel to other two and three dimensional sacred spaces.

As a patron, both Hastings' and Donne's focus appears more introspective than that of Bray. By commissioning luxury books of hours, a painting by Memling, and collecting other manuscripts, these men evoked to the book-loving, Flemish influenced court of Edward IV, their ability to converse as a connoisseur with the highest peers of the realm, including the king himself and Margaret of York. The spatial setting of the *Donne Triptych*, calls for a more subtle appreciation of the relationship between form and space than was sought by Bray, whose involvement with artists and architects had an altogether more public face. While the window Bray was involved with at Great Malvern, and his other projects, suggests he too showed great sophistication in visually articulating representations of sacred space, at St George's, this was translated into a less intimate vision than that favoured by Edward IV and his courtiers. I suggested in Chapter One that Edward IV's approach, while still concerned with self-promotion, also embraced an appreciation of the smaller-scale psychological effects arising through the careful planning, and structured use of that space. The differences between the nature of patronage activities favoured by Hastings, Donne and Bray may allow us to gain a wider insight into the value placed by the Tudor court on investment in matters of spiritual

propriety. Janet Backhouse has studied the books owned by Henry VII. Although he acquired many luxury manuscripts, including three books of hours, it seems these were gifts, rather than personal commissions, unlike many books associated with Edward IV.²⁶³ It is possible that the less intimate space that resulted from Bray's involvement at Windsor reflects the emergence of a gradual tendency in the early Tudor court to favour lavish, public celebrations of status over small-scale investment in objects of prestige. This would reach its zenith in the reign of Henry VIII.²⁶⁴

But can the difference in character between the actions of Bray and Donne be read as a metaphor for the change in spatial propriety apparent in the building of St George's itself? The nuances of reference Edward had intended for the north aisle of the building, where he would lie interred as the founder of a Yorkist line of monarchs, and the donor of a magnificent new building for future Garter Knights, were disrupted by the later translation of Henry VI to the south aisle, and his subsequent emergence as a saintly Tudor icon.²⁶⁵ Instead of the subtle, spatial relationships intended to glorify Edward IV, guarded by his loyal courtiers, in the north aisle, the south aisle in the last decade of the fifteenth century offered an opportunity for dynastic self-aggrandisement on a different scale. The opportunist chantry of the benevolent Bray, and that of his friend and architectural patron, Oliver King, opened up the specialised foci St George's had been designed to enshrine. No longer a royal mausoleum, the chapel now bore evidence of the ability of men to rise through the ranks of government and personalise royal space in a far more brash way than had hitherto been seen.

²⁶³ J. Backhouse, "Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII and Members of his Immediate Family", in B. Thompson (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stanford, 1995), p. 183 and p. 188.

²⁶⁴ Henry VIII's preparations for the Field of the Cloth of Gold were perhaps the epitome of Tudor state ceremony. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 30-33.

²⁶⁵ This will be considered further in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ORDER OF THE GARTER AND ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL

This Chapter explores how space and images in St George's Chapel were used and understood by those associated with the Order of the Garter, from Henry V to Henry VIII.¹ The availability of sources necessitates taking a wider chronological perspective at this point, but this also facilitates an appreciation of how the act of "looking" as an activity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries developed in sophistication. I will suggest that throughout this period, the growing complexity of ceremonial procedures, increasingly governed by professional individuals who organised and recorded these for future generations, meant that space in the chapel needed to be more flexible. The appearance of the new, expanded Chapel of St George, can therefore only be fully appreciated if earlier attitudes, understandings and influences are taken into consideration. Changes made by Henry V to the Order of the Garter's statutes provide the earliest significant evidence for a detailed scrutiny of how Knights of the Garter were encouraged to use the space of the old chapel. A familiarity with the visual codes that prevailed under Henry V, that as I suggested in Chapter One, were well-understood by Edward IV, is therefore a useful starting point for examining how the experience of Garter ceremony could bind Garter Knights into a relationship with the building.

Consideration of other projects initiated by patrons associated with the order early in the fifteenth century, including John, duke of Bedford, (brother of Henry V, and later regent for the young Henry VI in France,) and William Bruges, the herald Henry V created "Garter king of arms," provides evidence for how people's experience of the chapel and order could affect artistic projects initiated elsewhere, and for how personal attitudes to both the Order of the Garter, and its patron, St George, may have been informed by its Windsor home. Furthermore, this allows appreciation of how the twin demands placed on Garter Knights – loyalty to both God and king – could be articulated within the context of an appropriate sacred space. Latterly in the Chapter, the use of space in Edward IV's new chapel will be measured against understandings which governed use of space in the old chapel. Finally, a worked case study describing the investiture of Philip of Castile facilitates precise plotting of how sacred

¹ As the history of the Order of the Garter has been told many times over, I do not propose to revisit the debate regarding the earliest institution, formed by Edward III after 1348. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, H.E.L Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), D. A. B. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987).

space came to be experienced in a multi-sensory way in the new chapel, and allows comparisons to be drawn between Garter ceremonial, and the funerary rituals discussed in Chapter One.

Chivalric Space in the Old Chapel of St George

The re-dating of a surviving version of the order's statutes, (College of Arms MS Arundel 48) to 1415, shows that Henry V took a particular interest in the Order of the Garter.² The 1415 statutes regulated the composition of the order and its functioning, and probably comprised of previous ordinances, now lost, with new additions. They codified the procedure for the holding of meetings, the wearing of appropriate costume decorated with roundlets of the arms of St George, the election of new members and the procedure to be followed on the death of a companion. Some dealt particularly with the way the space in the chapel should be used during St George's Day festivities, and concerned the actions of each knight therein. Article Four specified that Knights of the Garter should always wear their mantles and garters when taking part in any function pertaining to the order, in particular the entry to the Chapel of St George, chapter meetings, the procession with the sovereign to and from the chapel and chapter house, and the suppers associated with the feast. Provision was made for hanging the sword and helmet of each companion above his choir stall in the chapel. Article Fourteen detailed procedures for the ceremony itself: knights should process in pairs to the high altar, to make their offering during mass. If one of a pair was absent, the other knight should process alone. Article Twenty-two indicated that all newly elected companions should take the stall vacated by the death of their predecessor, so that no order of rank should operate. These statutes were amended in 1421,³ when a stipulation was added to Article Four that Garter Knights should bow first to the altar and then to the sovereign on entering or leaving the choir. The ceremony of offering the swords, helmets and crests of the deceased to the altar during the annual requiem mass for deceased companions was also introduced.

Collectively, the ordinances highlight the importance of moving through the space in the chapel in a respectful manner. The statute concerned with the wearing of garter and mantle allows us to identify the high points of the annual gathering – the procession with the

² L. Jefferson, "Ms Arundel 48 and the Earliest Statutes of the Order of the Garter" in *English Historical Review* (1994) and "Statutes and Records: The Statutes of the Order" in P. Begent and H. Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 Years* (London, 1999), p. 52. The statutes are printed as an appendix to her 1994 article, and further explained in her 1999 work, both of which have been used as a source of information for the remainder of this paragraph.

³ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, Appendix 4 and Anstis, *Register*, vol. i., p. 76.

sovereign to and from the chapel, the entry into the building, chapter meetings and the evening supper. The ordinance suggests that the moments in which the activities of all members were co-ordinated acquired special solemnity, appropriate to an order whose ideological *raison d'être* may have been to emphasise the ties of obligation and chivalry binding king and subject. Although, at this stage, the order did not allow for hierarchical ranking of the knights, Henry V's role as king and sovereign was to be acknowledged openly. According to Anstis, the solution of how to pay honour to both God and king, was introduced by John, duke of Bedford, before being revised by Henry V himself, in favour of emphasising individual devotion to God over their duties as his subjects:

“[In the ninth year of the reign of Henry V] At the beginning of first vespers, the sovereign, who was exceedingly turn'd to Piety, when he saw a thing omitted by his Companions of the Order... could bear no longer but having admonished them on the Spot, he would lead the Way to their doing it from that Time. For at their Entry into the Choir, and going to their Stalls there, they seemed not to have given sufficient Reverence to God and the Altar. Now John, duke of Bedford remembered it had been decreed in the Chapter, which he had held in the 6th year of Henry V's reign, that all of this order should always at their going in, and coming out, and likewise at their descending of the steps, bow themselves, and do Reverence to the King, if present, or if absent, to the King's stall, thereby to shew that he was their Sovereign, and they owed him all King of Subjection and Obedience. But the most divine King, declared it was much more rational and fitting, that they should first bow and pay due Honour to the King, who is truly Supreme and Almighty, the Lord God and to his altar, as was practised by Ecclesiastics, and then whatever Honour they owed to him, they might also discharge, paying their difference to him or his Stall (as they believed they ought). This, his will, inspired no doubt from Heaven, he caused to be immediately declared to the Knight Companions that sat in their stalls.”⁴

Henry's presence at meetings was to be acknowledged whether he was there in person or not, for in his absence, he stipulated that reverence should be paid to his vacant stall. This suggests that the acknowledgement of a Garter Knight's loyalty and duty resided in the abstract action of paying homage within the particular space of St George's, while witnessed by fellow Garter Knights and canons, rather than in kneeling before the king in any other context.

⁴ Anstis, *Register*, vol. i., p. 76.

The final ordinance of the 1415 regulations instituted the post of register of the order, who was to attend all meetings of the college and keep accurate records of all proceedings and acts of the order.⁵ This desire to record formally the elections, attendance and misdemeanours of all Garter Knights is a significant moment in the order's history. The register was obliged to provide two books in which to enter the ordinances, and acts of the order. One of the books was to remain at the chapter house at Windsor, and the other was to remain with the register himself, in order to be always available should the sovereign request it. The earliest register survives only as a copy made by Ashmole, who described the original as "An Old Paper Book written in French, call'd *Regsitrum Chartaceum*"⁶ and commences with a reference to a chapter, possibly held in Normandy in 1418, and the record of two installations by proxy in July 1419.

It is likely that register maintained a close relationship with the newly created office of Garter king of arms,⁷ the first holder of which was William Bruges in 1417.⁸ As the herald of the Order of the Garter, Bruges was the first holder of the unparalleled position "king of arms of Englishmen." This gave him a measure of authority over his brother kings of arms.⁹ That this should be the case, further intimates at the special regard paid by Henry V to the Order of the Garter. However, it appears that although Henry V instituted this office, he did not make adequate provision, either for payment, or for defining the exact duties of his newest king of arms.

Evidence for the activities of kings of arms, in particular Garter king of arms, may be found in ordinances, supposedly issued by Thomas of Lancaster, the second son of Henry IV, around 1417.¹⁰ The ordinances contain thirteen clauses indicating that Garter king of arms

⁵ Jefferson, "Ms Arundel" and "Statutes and Records", pp. 54-56.

⁶ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 198.

⁷ H. Stanford-London, *The Life of William Bruges, First Garter King of Arms* (Harleian Society, London, 1970), pp. 12-13. Stanford-London, uncovered evidence for dating this office to 1415, but Peter Begent has revised this convincingly to 1417. P. Begent, "The Creation of the Office of Garter King of Arms" in *Coat of Arms*, New Series XI (1995), pp. 134-140. This corresponds to Anstis' findings, *Register*, vol. i., p. 321.

⁸ Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, pp. 1-9. Probably born in Wiltshire, c.1 375, Bruges followed his father, Richard Bruges, into royal service as a herald. His first recorded appointment was as Chester herald in June 1398; he later acquired the position of Guyenne herald.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ A. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1939. 2nd Edition, 2000), pp. 59-62. It has not been conclusively proved that these ordinances date from the time of Thomas of Lancaster, but it seems if not, that they may be based on earlier documents. Wagner examines the evidence for legitimacy of this document. The main issue of contention relates to the extent to which Garter was the pre-eminent king of arms; certainly by 1471, Garter did appear to hold a measure of authority over the other kings of arms, as the individual documenting Louis of Gruuthuyse's reception in England makes clear. Madden, "Narratives" pp. 283-284.

was to enjoy the privileges of sovereign among the officers of arms, that Garter, and other kings in their provinces, were to have knowledge of all noble and gentlemen dwelling therein, and that no herald was to give arms without the licence of the king of arms, or the king of arms of the region. The kings of arms were to hold chapters, frequent good company and to apply themselves to the study of books of good manners, eloquence, chronicles, accounts of honourable deeds of arms, and of the properties of colours, herbs and stones so that they may be able to justly and suitably assign to each person the arms that belong to him. They confirm the heralds and kings of arms role as observers, organisers and record-keepers, and hint at the keen visual skills needed for them to fulfil the tasks demanded of them. It is clear that, as Garter king of arms, Bruges would have been concerned with the ceremonies of the feast of St George, including the marshalling of processions as well as with the formalities of investiture and installation. He and other kings of arms, no doubt organised other ceremonies, for a privy seal dating from the twenty-eighth year of Henry VI's reign, recorded payments to heralds and kings of arms, for their "largesses proclaimed before us at high festes helde before this tyme."¹¹ The feasts for which they were reimbursed included Christmas and New Year, St George, Whitsun, All Hallows, Twelfthtide, and Easter. Payments were usually greatest for Christmas and New Year, at £10. All Hallows, Easter, Whitsun and St George, usually elicited a payment of 10 marcs; Twelfthtide only 100 shillings. Sometimes Easter and the feast of St George were paid at the lower rate of 100 shillings, presumably reflecting a scaled-down feast in those years.

It seems likely that Bruges would have agreed the designs of the banners, crests and stall plates, and he seems gradually to have assumed responsibility for the supply of these items at the charge of the Knight Companion.¹² It was obviously desirable that he maintained a record of the arms borne by the members of the order, which he coupled with a record of the occupancy of the stalls in St George's Chapel. This requirement is most likely to be the reason for the existence of a manuscript known as *Bruges' Garter Book* (British Library Stowe MS 594) in which figures pertaining to be the founder knights of the order stand with their hand resting on tables which carry the shields of subsequent occupiers of their particular choir stall in St George's Chapel.¹³

Like many of the officers of arms, Bruges was also employed in diplomatic activities, and is mentioned as having attended what was probably the first chapter of heralds, at Rouen

¹¹ Anstis, *Register*, vol. i., p. 138.

¹² Begent and Chesshyre, *Order of Garter*, p. 123.

¹³ This manuscript will be considered in fuller detail below, pp. 145-148.

in 1420.¹⁴ Under Henry VI, there was hardly a year in which he was not sent on at least one foreign mission, visiting France, Normandy, Brittany, Flanders, Hainault, Holland as well as Scotland, Spain, Portugal and Italy.¹⁵ At home, Garter's duties as an officer of the order do not appear to have been detailed until Constitutions of the Order were promulgated by Henry VIII in 1523.¹⁶ However, in a petition from Bruges to Henry V, printed by Anstis, we learn something of the ambitions Bruges had for the office.¹⁷ He clearly wanted Henry to recognise Garter's pre-eminence among other kings of arms, and indicated that this could be expressed in the visual mediums of costume and trappings. Article X of this petition asked Henry V to confirm Garter's right to wear or carry a tabard, crown, collar and verge, which would set him apart from the other kings of arms, for whom he only requested a crown. Bruges indicated that the crown was to be worn on high festivals and requested that the collar worn by Garter king of arms was to be decorated with coats of arms of the Order of the Garter, whereas those of other kings of arms should be decorated with alternative coats of arms. It is doubtful whether he ever wore such a collar for it is not shown in either of the portrait images of Bruges, which will be discussed below.¹⁸ It is probable that he may have worn a collar decorated with the Lancastrian SS device, as worn by John, duke of Bedford, when kneeling before an image of St George in the *Bedford Hours*, instead.¹⁹ Bruges clearly expected his pre-eminence as Garter king of arms to be demonstrated by allowing him alone to carry a verge. There is evidence, however, that these were carried both by the provincial kings of arms, and by their marshals, before Bruges' day.²⁰

The activities of the Order of the Garter had most likely been ordered by a herald from its inception, possibly that of the Windsor herald,²¹ but this desire to codify the process of organising the ceremonial central to the institution's integrity, as is suggested by the creation of the office of register, and in particular that of Garter king of arms, presents a new dimension to our understanding of the visual that has not previously been explored. In particular it suggests that the assertion made above – that in the fifteenth century we begin to

¹⁴ Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, p. 20 and p. 71 and Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 64.

¹⁵ A survey of the missions Bruges undertook is given in Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, Appendix I.

¹⁶ Begent and Chesshyre, *Order of Garter*, p. 124.

¹⁷ Anstis, *Register*, vol. i., p. 329. My thanks to Dr Maylis Curie for her help in translating this document.

¹⁸ See below p. 148 and p. 150.

¹⁹ Bruges' contemporary, Nicholas Upton, indicated that when a pursuivant was promoted king of arms, the sovereign should enoble him "In Anglia quando dominus Rex aliquem nobilitat solet...liberatum suam nobilitatio condonare que liberata est unum collarium cum litteris S de auro vel argento fabricatum." Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, p. 96. This portrait will be considered below.

²⁰ Anstis, *Register*, vol. i., p. 463.

²¹ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 252, although this appears to be conjecture, and is not supported by any tangible evidence.

witness a growing professionalisation of the process of observing and recording ritual – holds true for Garter ceremonial as well as royal funerary ritual.²²

A high point in the early history of the Order of the Garter was the agreement by the Emperor Sigismund to become an elected member in 1416. The sources recording Sigismund's visit to England, and the process of his election to the Order of the Garter, are sparse on detail. The author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, perhaps a royal chaplain writing a eulogistic life of Henry V in order to raise support at home and abroad for the resumption of a war against France in 1417,²³ simply described how

“During these solemn ceremonies the same supreme prince emperor was first elected and then admitted to the fraternity of knights... and they received the insignia of installation, our king as sovereign of that college of knights presiding.”²⁴

The evidence he provides for Sigismund's election to the Order of the Garter, something of a diplomatic coup for Henry V, which given the likely propaganda subplot of the work, one might expect the author to dwell on in further detail, is hardly very informative. John Rous, in *Historia Regum Anglie*, also included the election of Sigismund to the Garter, but simply commented that Sigismund was received with great honour by the king, and offered the heart of St George as a gift to St George's Chapel.²⁵ Thomas Walsingham, the monk and author of the *St Albans' Chronicle*, left perhaps the most detailed chronicle report of the emperor's visit. He described Sigismund bringing with him an image of St George “de fulvo metallo fabrifactum imaginem, cuis ‘materiam superabat opus’ quam voluit offerri apud Wyndelosoram ubi Sancto Georgio specialius a clericus regijs deservitur.”²⁶ His comment on the quality of the image – perhaps an icon, or perhaps the silver and gilt reliquary Sigismund provided as a container for the heart of St George²⁷ – hints at the familiarity with devotional images and objects Thomas Walsingham was likely to have had. In quoting directly from Ovid with the phrase “materiam superabat opus”,²⁸ his discussion of the image uses a classical trope, familiar to his medieval audience, to describe an artwork. The process of making a judgement about the image suggests that close scrutiny of visual props was becoming important, but that in the early fifteenth century, the desire to use innovative descriptive language when writing about visual objects was not sufficiently developed. Of the installation

²² See above, Chapter One.

²³ Gransden, *History Writing in England*, pp. 200-202.

²⁴ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 133.

²⁵ J. Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, (ed.) T Hearne (Oxford, 1745), p. 209.

²⁶ T. Walsingham, *St Albans' Chronicle*, (ed.) V. H. Galbraith (Oxford, 1937), p. 100.

²⁷ Bond, *Inventories*, pp. 148-149.

²⁸ T. A. Heslop, “Art, Nature and St Hugh's Choir at Lincoln” in J. Mitchell (ed.) *England and the Continent in the Late Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale*. Proceedings of the 1996 Harlaxton Symposium, (Stamford, 2000), pp. 65-6.

itself, he says simply that Sigismund was led to the feast, and was given the collar of the order, which the emperor always subsequently wore for public assemblies.

This occasion may have provided an opportunity to comment on the use of the visual criteria of largesse – the supreme chivalric virtue – on the part of Henry V, but the authors say nothing of the process of gift-giving, nor of the procession and ceremonial which accompanied this important courtly ritual. It is likely that this was an extremely well-planned ceremony, for the act of gift-giving was a highly formal affair. Two surviving representations may provide evidence for the appearance of such a ceremony. At the Diet of Metz, in 1356, Charles IV of Bohemia received from the future king of France (Charles V) a precious relic from the Ste Chapelle – two thorns of Christ's crown.²⁹ Charles IV commissioned a gold reliquary cross to contain these, and other Passion relics. Almost certainly connected with the display of the new cross, he initiated a complete remodelling of Karlstein Castle, probably early in 1357, involving the creation of two new chapels there. A painting on the south wall of the Chapel of the Virgin, divided into three scenes, was commissioned probably from the court artist, Nicholas Wurmser of Strasbourg, in order to commemorate the event.³⁰ **III. 88** It shows, firstly Charles IV receiving the relics of two thorns and splinters of Christ's Cross from the hands of the future Charles V; secondly, either Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem or the Gonzaga duke of Mantua, donating relics to Charles IV and finally, Charles IV depositing the relics in the gold reliquary cross.³¹ The scenes are representational idioms; unlike the ceremonies recorded at Windsor, there are no onlookers present, which there almost certainly would have been, gift-giving being by its very nature a significant court ritual in which display was important.³² This is similarly the case in a miniature from an illuminated copy of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fr. 2813), c.1379, which shows Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V personally, and directly, exchanging rings. **III. 89** In these examples, the moment represented isolates the aristocratic participants, portraying them upright, alone and in mirrorlike attitudes. Both standing, they assert to the viewer their position as rulers (everyone else would have had to kneel deferentially), thus translating relations of dominance and submission into spatial terms.³³ When Charles IV approaches the altar in the Karlstein scenes, however, his attitude is altogether different. His proud stance is modified into a stoop as he climbs the altar step,

²⁹ P. Crossley, "The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia" in S. Rees Jones, R. Marks and A. J. Minnis (ed.), *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe* (York, 2000), pp. 140-141.

³⁰ B. Büttner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400" in *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001), p. 613.

³¹ I. Rosario, *Art and Propaganda: Charles IV of Bohemia* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 35-50.

³² Büttner, "Past Presents", pp. 601-602.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 613.

acknowledging the sacredness of the occasion; with his head bowed, he carefully and reverentially inserts the thorns into the large, gold reliquary.

The consideration of the above illustrations, and comparison with what took place at Philip of Castile's investiture in 1506, where both Philip and Henry VII stood alongside each other, implies that Sigismund and Henry V would have stood in the chapel as equals.³⁴ However, the author of *Gregory's Chronicle* describes a slightly different arrangement. He indicates that during the procession, the king went "apone the upper-moste syde of the emperowe, and soo alle the masse tyme he stode a-bove the emperoure".³⁵ This would appear to be an exceptional display of bravura on the part of Henry V. Despite this seeming departure from protocol, the focus by Rous and Walsingham on the gifts brought by the emperor, suggests that for these authors, the generosity and devotion of the emperor, whom Walsingham described as "wanting to offer" his image of St George *in* St George's Chapel, was a key moment in the emperor's visit. It seems that the addition of so valuable a relic to the chapel's collection, and the willingness of Sigismund to part with this relic, was of greater importance than the unusual display of hierarchy apparent at the Garter installation itself. That this ritual should elicit more comment than the ceremony and oath of loyalty to the sovereign that marked the process of installation, pre-empted the instructions later given by Henry V. By deciding that Garter Knights should firstly make their obeiances to the altar, before turning to acknowledge him, Henry firmly indicated that the order's activities in the chapel were to be first and foremost devotional. However, it is likely that for Sigismund, and other Garter Knights, the two obligations were not so distinct. Rather the devotional emphasis would have strengthened the ties of chivalric brotherhood inherent in membership of the order. In Sigismund's generous gift, it is therefore possible to identify a desire to situate himself at the centre of this potent nexus of spirituality and honour. A gift on which the gaze of the order could crystallise, and which would become the focus of repeated prayers by an exemplar chivalric institution, may well have offered profound potential for the salvation of the emperor's own soul.

The future king of arms of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, the Charolais herald Jean le Fèvre, may have been in England during the visit of the emperor, for details in his chronicle have the character of an eyewitness report.³⁶ He is silent on the matter of Sigismund's election, but he does describe a feast Henry V held for Sigismund (either in

³⁴ The investiture of Philip of Castile will be considered in greater detail below, pp. 178-188.

³⁵ J. Gairdner (ed.), *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century containing I. John Page's Poem on the Siege of Rouen. II. Lydgate's Verses on the Kings of England. III. William Gregory's Chronicle of London* (Camden Society New Series XVII, 1876), p. 113.

³⁶ F. Moran (ed.), *Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre* (Paris, 1876), vol. i., pp. 279-280.

London or in Windsor) in which he paid fuller attention to the trappings of ritual and the expressions of status than many chronicle reports. He noted the significance of the seating arrangements at the banquet; Sigismund was given the best seat at the table, while two honoured prisoners of the English, Charles, duke of Orleans and Guillaume of Angoulême, sat on his right and left respectively.³⁷ He described Henry V as one “qui bien savoit les honnerus mondains autant que princes de son temps” and commented on the robes of cloth of gold worn by Henry V, along with a lavish necklace (or collar) garnished with precious stones. This relatively informed report, which draws attention to the visuality of the feast, contrasts with the lack of visual sophistication found in reports by other chroniclers regarding the emperor’s visit, and indicates that as a herald, he was particularly responsive to the visual demonstrations of hierarchy and largesse in the English court – matters which at St George’s, would subsequently fall to William Bruges to orchestrate. Bruges did not leave a surviving written record, but this comparison suggests he too would have been acutely aware of such matters.

The contrast, however, between the accounts of this herald, and the very detailed report which survives describing the election of Philip of Castile by Henry VII in 1506, is great, suggesting that the desire and ability of individuals to define ceremonial decorum developed considerably in sophistication during the fifteenth century. This election will be explored in further detail below for it provides evidence of the way the space in Edward IV’s new chapel was deliberately planned to make up for the shortcomings of its predecessor in functioning as a venue for devotional and chivalric rituals.

The appearance of the chapel that Sigismund’s investiture took place in, the small chapel built by Henry III and repaired and altered by Edward III, has been discussed in the introduction, where it was noted that the absence of aisles reduced the opportunity for the full realization of the dramatic potential of late medieval processions and ceremony. However, the simple nature of the earlier structure would have allowed more immediate access to a number of visual prompts situated throughout the chapel. Within the earlier building, there were a number of images reflecting its joint dedication to St George and the Virgin. The final dedicatee, St Edward, appears to have been less frequently represented within the building,

³⁷ Charles of Orléans and his brother, Guillaume of Angoulême were prisoners of the English after their capture in 1415 at the siege of Orléans, until 1440. Between 1415 and 1417 they were housed at Eltham, Westminster, Windsor and the Tower of London, and it is thus highly probable that Jean le Fèvre is correct, and they did attend this feast, even though this was relatively early in their capture for them to be occupying such a position of honour. W. Askins, “The Brothers Orléans and Their Keepers” in Mary-Jo Arn (ed.), *Charles d’Orléans in England (1415-40)* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 30.

although there was certainly one image of him.³⁸ In Edward IV's structure, although many of the earlier images would have been reused, the resulting partition of space within the building would have relayed the visual into a series of experiences instead of allowing a greater number of the chapel's adornments to be experienced from a single viewing point.

That St George saved the daughter of a king from the dragon, made him a particularly appropriate saint as the dedicatee of a royal chapel. Furthermore, the series of torments he underwent, prolonged over seven years prior to his beheading, and his expression of Christian steadfastness in the face of all his sufferings, would have provided an exemplar of the qualities of loyalty and Christian faith to the Knights of the Garter. In the context of a consideration of imagery significant to the order, those images associated with him therefore require further consideration. Within the chapel, there were a number of relics associated with the saint. The 1384 inventory records "an oblong vessel, with the arms of St G. and three bones. This was contained within a silver-gilt table, the gift of King Edward, which came from the bishop of Lincoln,"³⁹ "a reliquary with two fingers of St G,"⁴⁰ "one arm of silver plate...containing part of the arm of St George"⁴¹ and "cushions embroidered with garters and the arms of St George".⁴² Sigismund had added St George's heart to the collection, which was kept in a silver and gilt reliquary.⁴³ The iconography of the alabaster tabernacle, purchased for the high altar in 1367, cannot be known for certain.⁴⁴ However, St George may also have been associated with it in some way, for a payment recorded in the precentor's roll for 1413-14 indicates that the goldsmith was paid 1d for "burnishing the reredos of Saint George within the high altar."⁴⁵

The primary image of St George appears to have flanked the high altar; on the other side was an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The figure of St George may have been wood, covered with detachable armour, for payments survive recording repairs to the armour.⁴⁶ It no longer survives, but a later image of St George fighting the dragon, made for the Worshipful Company of Armourers in London c.1528, might give some evidence for its appearance. Clad in iron, leather and fabric, this polychromed wooden figure also has detachable armour, and would have made a striking image placed adjacent to an altar. **III. 90** It is unlikely that these two figures would have stood independently from each other in the eyes of an onlooker.

³⁸ See below, p. 144.

³⁹ Bond, *Inventories*, pp. 54-55.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

⁴² *ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴⁴ See above, Introduction.

⁴⁵ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.21.

⁴⁶ Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 395, n. 8.

Frequently known as “Our Lady’s Knight”, St George’s link with the Virgin was apparent in the late thirteenth century version of the *Golden Legend*, for it was stated that the king of Silene built a magnificent church in honour of St George and the Virgin following the saint’s victory over the dragon and the conversion of the city.⁴⁷ Lydgate associated the Virgin with St George and the saint was placed next to the Virgin on the Great Seal used by Edward III towards the end of his reign.⁴⁸ In the old Chapel of St George, the 1384 inventory recorded a reliquary which made the association between Virgin and Saint more precise than the looser associations piqued by the existence of the two images on either side of the altar. It showed St George killing the dragon, with the Virgin “in childbed” and Joseph. This scene was enclosed by two enamel panels decorated with an image of St John the Baptist, the figure of the Trinity and the Crucifix.⁴⁹

We are not told on which side of the high altar each image was placed. Although English foundations placed the patron saint of an altar on its north side, it is unclear how the arrangement would have worked if there were two patron saints.⁵⁰ If the image of St George was placed to the south, and that of Mary to the north, the arrangement may have recalled the placement of figures within images of the Last Judgement, where Mary intercedes at Christ’s right hand for the souls of the saved. Michael, associated with having cast down the dragon / devil into hell was often identified with St George due to the sharing of the dragon iconography, and this may have been a sufficient reason to place St George at Christ’s left hand. In the Borbjerg Retable of 1480, which details scenes from the life of St George, a standing figure of the saint is placed on the left of the retable paired with an image of St Michael on the far right, visually playing on the shared dragon attribute. **III. 91** However, another entry in the St George’s inventories records the existence of “One wooden table, standing on the small altar on the North side, opposite to the High Altar, with plates and copper-gilt figure, containing the martyrdom of St George.”⁵¹ It is therefore possible that the main image of St George could have been placed on the north side of the high altar. Were this the arrangement, then the north corner of the choir would have had a unified iconographic focus based purely on the patron saint of the Order of the Garter.

The precentors’ accounts provide evidence for the appearance of the image of the Virgin, which appears to have been silver, for a 1418 receipt records payment to “Comis

⁴⁷ J. de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, (trans.) W. G. Ryan (Princeton, 1993), vol. i., p. 240.

⁴⁸ S. Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth* (Stroud, 2005), p. 69.

⁴⁹ Bond, *Inventories*, pp. 52-3.

⁵⁰ Binski, “English Parish Church”, p. 5.

⁵¹ Bond, *Inventories*, pp. 58-59.

Melver, aurifabri in precio xx lb. ii unc[es] di[versis] argenti in massa emptione pro emendacione unius ymaginis beate Marie.”⁵² Evidently this was an image of some size and value and it may have been placed beneath a canopy decorated with lily flowers for the 1384 inventory records “four lily flowers which are missing from the pinnacled canopy above Mary’s statue.”⁵³ The inventory also records the existence of three silver gilt crowns, “of which one is for the Blessed Mary, and another for her son, and the third for Saint Edward,”⁵⁴ suggesting that potentially these images could have been in majesty.⁵⁵ Liturgical rituals would have incorporated imagery that could also have been associated with St George in the mind of the onlooker, for the inventory records the existence of banners, one of which was decorated with a figure of a lion and the other with a dragon “for the Rogation procession.”⁵⁶ In the Rogationtide procession, the banner of the lion was carried foremost, and that of the dragon last, signifying how Christ (represented as the Lion) won his last fight with the devil (as dragon). Given he was a dedication saint of the chapel, the dragon iconography is likely to have similarly sparked associations with St George’s battle with the dragon.

A number of factors are key to understanding the significance of this accumulation of imagery. Firstly, the number of relics associated with St George, particularly after 1416, indicates that the chapel is likely to have carried significant spiritual weight as a pilgrimage destination for those desiring to worship this saint. Secondly, the association with the Virgin, commonly found in this period, would have fortified the spiritual potential to be gained by viewing imagery associated with St George. Finally the dynamic engagement with images, both of St George and of the Virgin, indicates that this imagery was not static, but could be adapted and accommodated to meet the shared demands of Garter Knight and college canon. Thus the decoration of the old chapel was instrumental in encouraging differing individuals, from varying social groups, to forge personal relationships with this royal sacred space.

As a professional “witness” of the visual and ritual trappings of the Order of the Garter, the significance of this imagery, and its suitability to convey specific meaning within a particular space, would have been understood by William Bruges better than most. It is for this reason that two visual sources associated with Bruges, his *Garter Book* and a series of stained glass windows in St George’s Church, Stamford, which are no longer extant, but

⁵² Accounts printed in Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 395, n. 6.

⁵³ Bond, *Inventories*, pp. 80-81.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵⁵ V. Sekules, “The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral” in F. Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XI (Leeds, 1991), p. 172 notes a similar arrangement whereby an image of the Virgin was placed in close proximity to a lily, recalling the association between the two in annunciation scenes, and where crowns were placed on the heads of the Virgin and Christ.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

which can be reconstructed from antiquarian sources, require fuller consideration. As a creator of Garter imagery and ceremony, Bruges' taste in visual matters may provide an example of the type of imagery favoured by those associated with the Garter; the dominance of St George in both these schemes is of interest here. This understanding leaves us better equipped to appreciate how they would have understood the space in the old Chapel of St George.

It has been suggested, partly on the basis of notes written in the manuscript, copied from Peck's *Antiquarian Annals of Stamford*, that the Stamford windows were based on the patterns found in *Bruges' Garter Book*.⁵⁷ MS Stowe 594 is a large manuscript, which includes twenty-seven full-page miniatures opening with a portrait of Bruges, wearing the royal arms and a crown with blank shields, holding a blank scroll and kneeling before St George.⁵⁸ **III. 92** The following folios are each dedicated to an image of one of the founder Knights of the Garter, commencing with Edward III. The Stamford windows also contain portraits of the knights, but here the similarity between the two projects ends, and it is therefore difficult to see the two schemes as directly related. Although the founder knights are represented in both, those in the manuscript all stand square to the viewer, their heads turned to their right, and their right hand resting on a tablet, which is painted with the coats of arms of successive holders of their particular choir stall at Windsor. **III. 93** Each figure is identified by a scroll, which bears his name, and wears a tabard, most of which are decorated with the coat of arms of the individual. As some of these remain blank, however, it seems that the manuscript as it now survives, resembles a "work in progress," perhaps made in Bruges' professional capacity as a record keeper and organiser of the ceremonial relating to the order.

This is the earliest known armorial for an order of chivalry, probably dating from around 1440.⁵⁹ Although there are a number of surviving rolls of arms, painted with rows of shields,⁶⁰ this is the first surviving example in which the shields are "presented" to the viewer by an individual. The manuscript bears an interesting relationship to a slightly later armorial, of the Aldermen of London, c.1444-9, (London, Guildhall Library Print Room). **III. 94** In the latter, twenty-six full-page drawings show standing figures holding a shield of his own arms in one hand and resting his other on a framed tablet designed to display the arms of his

⁵⁷ British Library MS Stowe 594, f. 1r.

⁵⁸ f. 5v.

⁵⁹ R. Marks and A. Payne, *British Heraldry from its Origins to c. 1800* (Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue, London, 1978), p. 124.

⁶⁰ These have been catalogued by A. R. Wagner, *Aspilogia: A Catalogue of Medieval Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1950).

successor. The pose is similar to the Garter Knights in Bruges' book. The artists⁶¹ are not the same as those responsible for the *Garter Book* and it has been suggested that one may have been Roger Leigh, Clarenceaux king of arms from 1435-60.⁶² It seems possible that Bruges, as principal of the kings of arms, introduced this method of recording the arms of institutions such as the Garter and the Guildhall. It is possible that both records relate to schemes to set up stall plates which would have recorded the coats of arms of successive holders of each choir stall – the *Garter Book* to the scheme for St George's Chapel which may have been conceived prior to 1415, but was not put into execution until later,⁶³ and the Aldermen drawings for the Guildhall Chapel.⁶⁴ However, the large size of Bruges' book (it is currently 385 x 280mm, but judging from the lack of space around the images, they have been cut down to this size⁶⁵) and the twenty-five to thirty years which elapsed between the project to hang stall plates and the manuscript itself, suggests that it is more likely to have been intended as a commemorative display and historical record. Certainly were it simply a means of recording heraldic information, it was more labour intensive than the rolls depicting rows of shields formerly popular.

It is difficult to ascertain who the artists behind Bruges' book would have been. Bruges himself would certainly have possessed some artistic skills, for a herald could scarcely function without engaging in painting and drawing, but as he also appears in this manuscript, it seems unlikely that he was one of the artists. His position was perhaps comparable with the early sixteenth century Garter king of arms, Sir Thomas Wriothesley. Wriothesley is associated as overseer, if not artist, of a vast quantity of pictorial material, and also makes his appearances in "portraits" which illustrate the activities of the Garter, as well as promoting his own office and person, in a similar vein to the opening "introductory" miniature of Bruges and St George.⁶⁶ It seems likely that Bruges dictated his requirements for the manuscript – the uniform outlines of the figures may even represent his guiding hand – which were then relayed to other artists. Not until the heralds petitioned the Earl Marshall around 1550 for his interest in an unsuccessful project to take over some of the redundant church buildings by St Paul's Cathedral, was it proposed that their artists should be brought together in their own separately appointed place.⁶⁷ However, it is possible that the gatherings of artists recorded at

⁶¹ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. i., p. 245, identifies two hands in the manuscript.

⁶² J. A. Goodall, "The Use of Armorial Bearings by London Aldermen in the Middle Ages" in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* XX (1959-61), p. 19. A. Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London, 1967), p. 128.

⁶³ Begent and Chesshyre, *Order of Garter*, p. 185.

⁶⁴ They date from a period when the Guildhall Chapel was being rebuilt, Marks and Williamson, *Gothic*, p. 269.

⁶⁵ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. i., p. 241.

⁶⁶ Payne, "Sir Thomas Wriothesley", p. 145.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 146.

individual residences in the sixteenth century reflect an established pattern of working that was current in the fifteenth century too.

Although solid and weighty figures, with lightly individualised faces, the figures in the Aldermen manuscript float on the page of the manuscript, no attempt having been made to locate them in any actual space. This is its greatest contrast with *Bruges' Garter Book*. In the latter, although the figures are drawn from a single model, they have sharply characterised faces. Furthermore, the inclusion of floor tiles, on to which each figure casts a shadow, gives the pages depth, and situates the figures in a real space. None of the miniatures in the manuscript represent a mathematical resolution of the quest for perspective, characterised by some Italian work of the period. However, the solution reached is distinctive to work in other English manuscripts. In Lydgate's *The Life of St Edmund* (British Library MS Yates Thompson 47), after 1461 **III. 95**, and in Thomas Chaundler's *Liber apologeticus* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.14.5), probably 1459-60, **III. 96** both works which date from after *Bruges'* manuscript, floor tiles are systematically represented without any consideration being paid to perspective. In each of these depictions, a simple criss-cross pattern of coloured or black and white tiles is used to define the foremost plane of the miniatures, on to which figures are placed in somewhat haphazard manner. In *Bruges'* manuscript, however, the artists have toyed with the creation of several perspectives, with varying degrees of success. Two of the artists, whom I will refer to as "hand A" and "hand C" use the convergence of the tiles into a vanishing point (single or multiple) to render the illusion of depth to the miniatures. A remaining artist "hand B" makes no attempt to locate a vanishing point in any of the miniatures, in a manner reminiscent of the above illustrations.

Of the latter type are folios 8, 8v., 9, 9v., 10, 10v., 12v., 13, 13v. and 15v., characterised by the creation of a simple criss-cross pattern of tiles, the orthogonals most commonly running from the top left to the bottom right of the page. Hand C, whose distinctive facial types have bulbous noses sharply marked in relief by heavy brown lines, and who conveys the shadows cast by the folds of the Garter Knights' gowns with heavy black or grey paint, is responsible for folios 14v., 15, 16, 16v., 17, 17v., 18, 18v., and 20. Generally his floor tiles converge at a single point, conveyed without the awkwardness shown by hand A. Hand A, who is responsible for some of the important miniatures in the book, the opening portrait of *Bruges* and St George (5v.), Edward III (7v.), and Prince Edward (14), as well as the Garter Knights on 11v., 12, and 19v., also attempts to convey spatial depth through the use of receding tiles. The solution realised in the miniature of Sir James Daudele **III. 93** shows the insertion of a central orthogonal, which, if extended, would brush the nose of the Garter Knight, as the main point of orientation on the page. However, tiles to the left and right of

this line converge on it in an unsystematic and unsymmetrical way, lending, on first glance, his miniatures an air of clumsiness.

As the hand responsible for portraits of the most important individuals in the manuscript, however, this English artist warrants further consideration than this value-judgement of his ability implies. In the miniature showing Bruges kneeling before St George in particular **III. 92**, it seems that he may in fact be acutely aware of the ability to differentiate spiritual and temporal realms within the defined space of a single page. Once again, he inserted a central orthogonal to dictate the intended vanishing point of the image. To the left of this, and in two sets of tiles to the right, (ie. under the figure of St George and the dragon) there is a semblance of the floor tiles converging towards this central point. However, on the right hand side of the page, the tiles under Bruges himself float free from this perspectival configuration. Instead, a criss-cross pattern of intersecting transversals and orthogonals prevails. The bi-partite division of space within this miniature suggests that the attempt made to locate these images of Garter Knights in an actual space is important because it offers a visual prompt for the viewer to “read” this manuscript on a number of levels. This is perhaps an early attempt to exploit the potential the page offered to represent sacred space, which would be more successfully realised in the later commissions of Donne and Hastings. The unified spaces in the images of Edward III and his founder Garter Knights, and the association of this manuscript with their chief herald, implies that we are meant to see the knights as display figures – as ideal types – standing as loyal servants of their sovereign, as they might in a procession of the order, or during a St George’s day meeting. The alternative division of space in the opening miniature, places St George in his own distinct realm. It seems that the benevolence of the patron saint, who hovers outside the temporal space occupied by Bruges, has been brought to bear on the founder knights by the intercession of Bruges himself. In this representation, we therefore see a metaphor for the twin demands placed on Garter Knights as both Christian and chivalric brethren. This, in turn, reflects the role the knights would play when worshipping and meeting with their sovereign in the Chapel of St George at Windsor.

The visual construction of the Windsor chapel is something that is likely to have had a significant impact on the form of William Bruges’ contribution to St George’s Chapel, Stamford. Although the reasons for Bruges’ interest in the church are not entirely clear, it has been conjectured that Bruges had links with the wool trade, which involved activities at Stamford.⁶⁸ He also owned six houses there.⁶⁹ The dedication of this church, and its poor

⁶⁸ Rev. W. Rees-Jones, *Saint George, The Order of Saint George and The Church of Saint George in Stamford* (London, 1937), p. 55.

⁶⁹ Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, p. 24.

state of repair in the fifteenth century following a fire in the early fourteenth century, may have piqued the interest of the Garter king of arms.⁷⁰ In the mid-fifteenth century, at Bruges' expense, this church was enlarged by the addition of an extra bay eastward to the nave and aisles, and the construction of the chancel and nave clerestory. Although it is not known when Bruges commenced the work, it must have been nearly finished at the time of his death in 1450 for his will stipulated that he was to be buried "in the myddel of the quere" of St George's. The special regard which he held for this foundation is apparent in his will, for he provided funds to be used for the "complyshing and endyng" of the church. This, he went on to explain, meant leading the roof, glazing the windows, tiling the floor, and providing a "pleyne" rood loft, desks and pews.⁷¹ Bruges also left a number of decorative and devotional items to the church, of which more will be said below.

In the chancel, three windows on the north and south sides, and the east window, were glazed with images of Garter Knights and scenes from the life of St George. The arrangement is now known only from four antiquarian sources.⁷² The first is Heralds' College MS C.23, a copy of the Visitation of Lincolnshire made in 1634 by Henry Chitting, Chester herald, and Thomas Thompson, Rouge Dragon. This manuscript described the figures as "St George standing, and all the 26 Knights of the Garter kneeling in their robes...with these Armes on them." Below this are arranged 29 shields, the arrangement corresponding exactly to the windows. Secondly, in his *Book of Draughts*, (British Library Add. MS 71474), William Dugdale wrote that the windows contained Edward III, twenty-four members of the Order of the Garter and above, the story of the life and martyrdom of St George. However, only twenty-one paintings are illustrated in the manuscript, and Dugdale has misnamed three of the knights. The third document, taken from Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 1,131, shows the complete series of the Garter Knights, with Bruges and his family, the sketch of a figure of St George in the central light, and includes the six knights who are missing from the *Book of Draughts*, but this may have been based partly on Dugdale's own manuscript, and partly on a visit made by Ashmole to Stamford. Finally, there is a series of drawings made by Ralph Thoresby, in 1716.⁷³ The windows were certainly damaged by this time, but they include some of the panels which are missing from Dugdale.

⁷⁰ S. Riches, "The Lost St George Cycle of St George's Church, Stamford: An Examination of Iconography and Context" in Richmond and Scarff (ed.) *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, p. 135.

⁷¹ Bruges' will is printed in Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, Appendix vii., pp. 85-87. See also p. 57.

⁷² Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, pp. 58-60.

⁷³ These are now collected in *William Stukeley's Commonplace Book*, Devizes, Wiltshire Archaeological Society.

The finished design provided for a lower register, below the transom, in which individual lights contained images of the founder knights, placed against a background of quarries decorated with the garter. Above the transom were the scenes from the life of St George. The east window contained five lights, with a central image of St George, possibly spanning the upper and lower registers. Edward III and the duke of Lancaster were shown in the northerly lower lights. The Black Prince and possibly Sir Harry Eam, (although this figure is missing from the Dugdale drawings, and there is no evidence as to why he should be so prominent in these windows), were depicted in the southerly lights. Further scenes from St George's life were above.⁷⁴ The arrangement resembled the layout of the choir in St George's Windsor, with two returned stalls – the figures in the east window at Stamford – and eleven Garter Knights lined along the north and south sides of the chancel. In the most westerly lights, Bruges (north side) **III. 97** and his wife, Agnes, with their children (south side) **III. 98** were figured. Bruges, depicted in Thoresby's drawing, was portrayed in his tabard and crown, with a shield of his arms above, in place of the St George panel. Agnes knelt in front of a prayer-dieu, with three female children behind, on a chequered, tiled floor, in front of a quarried background of garters, in a pose common to that of all of the Garter figures. The full arrangement, in as far as it can be reconstructed, is given in **Plan 4**.

The emphasis on torture in the scenes from St George's life has often been commented on. Of the minimum of twenty-seven scenes which detail the events from his life, two torture scenes (showing St George being stretched, and showing him being scourged) were in the two northerly lights of the east window. A further eight scenes, showing him being beaten, boiled, cut in half, poisoned, sawn in half, tortured on a wheel, whipped and beheaded, appeared in the south side chancel windows. The northerly windows, on the contrary show St George with a woman by a well, fighting in a landscape, kneeling before the Virgin, being resurrected by the Virgin, fighting the dragon, baptising the king, queen and princess, being tried, and preaching in prison. Samantha Riches has considered this series in relation to other surviving cycles of St George – a series of twelve images within a single window at St Neot's Church, Cornwall, (early sixteenth century) **III. 99** and two alabaster retables dating from 1480-1500, one at Borbjerg in Denmark and another at La Selle, Normandy.⁷⁵ **III. 100** In the window at St Neot's there is a comparable emphasis on torture, where it forms the subject of five of the twelve lights, **III. 101** but this is in contrast to the alabaster cycles: images of torture appear only twice in the Borbjerg retable, and not at all in the La Selle retable. As there are many examples of alabaster panels depicting the torture of other saints, it seems most likely that this

⁷⁴ The heraldry, and evidence for the identity of the Garter Knights depicted, has been considered in Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, pp. 62-66.

⁷⁵ Riches, *St George*, pp. 72-88.

distinction is not a matter of medium, but that the variation has arisen because of differences in the requirements of the patrons.⁷⁶ The scenes in which St George is shown in close proximity to the Virgin, however, being resurrected, or armed and sent out to fight the dragon, occur in all the cycles, suggesting that this depicts an otherwise lost, but essential component of the legend. The dual focus on the Virgin and St George in the Stamford windows, is certainly appropriate for a man whose primary visual source may have been the Chapel of Our Lady and St George at Windsor, with its iconographic focus on St George and the Virgin at the high altar.⁷⁷ It has been commented that a curious omission from the Stamford windows is the scene of the Virgin arming St George.⁷⁸ However, it seems likely that this may have been represented in the fourth light of the most westerly window on the north aisle. Thoresby's drawings show a nimbused figure, standing above a kneeling knight who also has a nimbus and a sword, although not yet wearing the tabard of St George. Although the quality of the drawing makes identification of the standing figure with the Virgin inconclusive, the iconography of this window, and its position within the narrative cycle suggests that this was indeed a representation of the arming scene.⁷⁹

Little thought has been given to the spatial arrangement of these lights and it may be possible to discern something of their meaning for Bruges from closer analysis. Generally, the focus on torture is on the south side, with that on the relationship between the Virgin, and other "positive" features of the legend, on the north side. Situating the likely scene of the arming of St George in the same window as that in which Bruges himself kneels, may have referred to Bruges' own role in vesting the knights with the mantle of the order during installation ceremonies. Furthermore, if the loose association between St George and St Michael in which the concept of a Last Judgement may help us understand the location of images near the high altar at Windsor, applies, then perhaps the same iconographic parallel is explored at Stamford. As the completion of the church was Bruges' last act as a patron, provided for in his will, then relating this scheme to his thoughts of the afterlife is entirely appropriate. Thus the lurid scenes of torture on the south side (the "left hand" in the Last Judgement context) evoke thoughts of the tortures of hell one would undergo if they failed to live a Christian life, whereas the presence of the Virgin, and the exemplary actions of St George on the north side, correspond to images of the saved. A sophisticated designer of space and imagery may have had such an arrangement in mind, in order to make a pre-conditioned audience more receptive to the full associations of this particular scheme.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 142-143.

⁷⁸ Riches, *St George*, p. 88. She does not appear to have seen the Thoresby source.

⁷⁹ *Stukeley's Commonplace Book*, f. 100r.

The most westerly image on the south side, above Agnes Bruges and her children, shows three figures kneeling before a large gold reliquary, studded with jewels and placed on a shrine, presumably holding relics of St George. If Dugdale's drawing is accurate, this reliquary was not the one Sigismund had donated to St George's, which was described as "quoddam tabernaculum argentum et dauratum in quo continentur cor beati Georgii" in the 1500 inventory⁸⁰ and as "a monstrans of sylber and gylt and seynt Georges heart stondyng in golde closyd in byrall yn the myddst yn the upper parte the image off the crucifix, under that the image of our Lady and the image of our Savyoure" in the 1534 inventory.⁸¹ However, although the imagery may not correlate precisely, the veneration of actual remains of the saints, depicted in this window, corresponds to the existence of a primary relic of the saint at Windsor, providing a further link between the two buildings.

The order in which one should view the cycle at Stamford, and who exactly should be doing the viewing, is far from clear. The intention may well have been that the scheme could be viewed in a number of ways and from a number of viewpoints. This distinguishes the cycle from the demands placed on the observer of the abovementioned retables, which imply a fixed viewpoint focussed on a smaller-scale object, and the window at St Neot's where a clear narrative construction begins with St George fighting an enemy army labelled as the "Gallicani" in the top left hand corner, and concludes with St George about to be decapitated in the lower right hand corner. In the latter, the logical pattern of reading a text on a page dictates the direction of the gaze, left to right, top to bottom. The Magnificat window of 1503 at Great Malvern starts from the bottom, and reads upwards, concluding with the earthly death, and then heavenly coronation, of the Virgin Mary, its orientation thus being governed by heavenly rather than temporal rules.⁸² It is likely that the process of viewing the earlier Stamford windows similarly invokes more perspectives than the simple narrative one suggested by the St Neot's comparison. This implies we should seek the demands of the patron behind directing the routing of eyes around glazing schemes, for as early as the mid-fifteenth century, an individual *au fait* with constructing and using space could use this experience to create interesting, non-standard, spatial relationships between images and their location within a particular space.

The visual possibilities of "processing" through this cycle parallel the physical arrangement of knights, kneeling in a procession and facing the high altar, just as they might in the choir of St George's, Windsor. However, individuals partaking in such a procession are

⁸⁰ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 149.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁸² See Chapter Two, p. 111.

as likely to have looked across at their counterparts, as at the high altar. So it may have been at Stamford. The cycle certainly incorporates a straightforward narrative, beginning at the west end of the north aisle in the Thoresby drawings, with scenes that show a small child standing before a father-figure, perhaps reflecting a lost tradition of the early scenes of St George's life, and concluding with his beheading and posthumous veneration at the west end of the south side.⁸³ However, it is possible that a number of parallels were intended to be drawn between opposing windows on the north and south sides. Bruges and his wife are paired opposite each other, and it would have been impossible to see these figures from a single viewpoint without shifting one's gaze from side to side across the chancel. This positioning places them both in comparable proximity to the reliquary, an object on which contemporary devotion of the saint could have focussed. It also suggests that the images the representations of the patron and his wife could themselves see may also have been important. From their vantage points in the north and south side windows respectively, the figure of William Bruges would have been in a better position to personally observe the gruesome scenes of torture and martyrdom in the south aisle, most likely to have been specifically stipulated by a patron, whereas his wife would have observed the more serene scenes of St George's involvement with the Virgin, and the standard dragon iconography, depicted in the north wall windows.⁸⁴

It may be possible to draw some loose associations between the *Garter Book*, and the windows, if we consider why Bruges' interest was piqued in representations of the Garter Knights, and of St George, around the 1440s. In the manuscript, Bruges kneels on the opening page, ahead of the founder Knights of the Garter, but alone before St George. In the windows, however, he and his family kneel behind the Garter Knights in the windows, honouring the saint. Here, the twin representation of "chivalric knight" and "devotional individual" is pronounced, for each kneels facing the central window containing the figure of their sovereign and an image of St George, below an individual scene from the saint's life which has been allocated to him alone. The emphasis is therefore different in this cycle to that found in *Bruges' Garter Book*, where each knight stands alone, primarily a model for his successors, while sharing in the more generalised benevolence of the saint pleaded for in the opening illumination of Bruges kneeling before St George. In each case, however, the knights partake of the mercy of St George through the direct actions of Bruges himself. Responsible for ordering the annual ceremonies, recording detail, scripting processional patterns and relaying the codes of chivalric and devotional practice encapsulated in the visual trappings of the festivities within the Chapel of St George, the presence of Bruges behind the two schemes

⁸³ *Stukeley's Commonplace Book*, f. 100r

⁸⁴ The reasons for Bruges' interest in the iconography of torture will be considered below, pp. 165-167.

provides a visual illustration of his very role as Garter king of arms. His desire to articulate his role as herald is clearly apparent in the self confident figures standing as models for their successors in the *Garter Book*. The decision to represent the historical, founder knights, rather than contemporary knights, in both the manuscript and the Stamford windows, suggests that Bruges was diligent in enquiring after and recording the history of the order. His visual legacy encapsulates twin desires; firstly for his devotion to St George to be rewarded by the benevolent saint, in order to facilitate his personal salvation and secondly, as a guardian of the history of the order, it also reflects his loyalty to the sovereign and successive Garter Knights, whom he invites to share in St George's mercy. The manuscript may function as his "professional" legacy, which privileges order, consideration and the process of record and therefore provides a model of how a proper herald should function for future heralds, including future Garter kings of arms. As an individual, the inclusion of St George in the manuscript, and the cycle of St George and the Virgin in the windows, parallels the professional legacy, by providing an insight into his devotional mindset. Bruges' public and private lives, were clearly equally important considerations when he was contemplating how his visual legacy should be ordered, and his experience of the space at Windsor was seemingly influential in helping him to articulate this. These examples, and their relationship with Windsor, suggest that other Garter Knights may also have sought to understand and articulate representations of sacred space by reference to their experience of St George's Chapel, Windsor.

More personal still, however, were the numerous valuable objects Bruges left to St George's, which had formerly adorned the chapel of his private residence at Kentishtown.⁸⁵ The nature and appearance of these objects suggests not only that his visual sensibilities and devotional attitudes were strongly influenced by what he had seen in the Chapel of Our Lady, St Edward and St George at Windsor, but also that the way these should be displayed was of particular importance to him. This lends weight to the theory that Bruges was sufficiently visually sophisticated to embrace concepts of multiple viewpoints within the Stamford scheme. In his will, Bruges provided for the adornment of the Chapels of Our Lady and St George at Stamford, leaving much valuable plate, sets of chapel vestments, and images of both the Virgin and St George. Silver censers in the shape of ships, a silver holy water stopper, basins and candlesticks of silver, and a gilded silver chalice, some of which Bruges specified were for use particularly on "solempne feasts" were among the many other items of value Bruges left to the chapel. He also left sets of chapel vestments, one of russet velvet and another set of black velvet, and orphreys of white gold powdered with garters.

⁸⁵ Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, "Will", Appendix vii.

Bruges' taste for the graphic torture scenes displayed in the windows may have been prompted by a desire to empathise with the physical suffering, of saints and of Christ, for in his will, he expressed a strong interest in the feast of Corpus Christi. This annual celebration, which took place on the Thursday after the Pentecost octave, was certainly being celebrated in England by 1318.⁸⁶ Since it was a Eucharistic feast, in the processions by which it was celebrated, the focal host was carried in a costly and ornate vessel by the clergy, covered by a canopy or rich material, held up by staves which were carried by prominent laymen. Candles were lit, and processional hymns sung.⁸⁷ The most detailed provisions in Bruges' will concerned the gift of a splendid feretory for use during this feast, in which the iconography of Christ's physical suffering was plainly apparent. "Oon partie wrought in the plate of sylver and overgilt and that other in tymbre, to be born betwene the Decon and Subdecon the tynbre is peynted and overgild with fyne gold and for every signe of the Passion an aungell beryng the signe of the Crosse and of the Crowne of Thorn, another Aungell beryng the Pillour and the Scorges another Aungell beryng the Spere and the Sponges another Aungell beryng the remnaunt of the signes of the Passion and in the middle of the feretorye a gret round block Coren and j peynted with gold and asure and peynted with sterres of gold". In the middle was a box of silver and gilt in which to put the sacrament, and upon this was placed a "gret crown of sylver and overgild garnyshed with Conterfete perles made of Sylver". In addition, accompanying the offertory was a tabernacle "in silber and gild...[with] a litel crosse of sylver and overgilt".⁸⁸ Bruges left specific instructions for the use of this object, stipulating that it particularly "belonged" to the feast of Corpus Christi, "and atte the day of the Fest...hit to followe the Sacrament of the said chirche of our Lady if it plesse the paryshons of the seid chirch onless thane they will have it serve for both". As is also suggested by his gift of altar coverings, he seems to have been motivated by a desire to situate objects associated with himself as close as possible to the most efficacious element of the late medieval liturgy, the host itself, on an occasion when a large number of individuals would have witnessed the object. Over and above simple proximity to the body of Christ, the goodwill of the parishioners was a necessary adjunct of his bequests, for it was through their prayers and commemorations that the maximum spiritual potential of such a gift could be realised. Particularly in the context of this professional scrutiniser of ceremony, his bequest is evidence that the visual engagement of witnesses with devotional objects in ceremonial contexts mattered. This is a recognition which was almost certainly honed by his conduct of ceremonies within the Royal Chapel of St George at Windsor where there is evidence that

⁸⁶ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 199.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 246-252.

⁸⁸ Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, p. 86.

Corpus Christi was celebrated after 1384, for records in the precentor's rolls record a payment for "two new sheets, newly written and noted, containing the histories of Corpus Christi and Saint Anne."⁸⁹ This was therefore likely to have been one of many varied ceremonies witnessed by Bruges and clearly made a deep impression on his visual sensibilities.

Bruges left a number of images to St George's, Stamford, to adorn the chapels of Our Lady and of St George there. He bequeathed an image of Our Lady and an image of St George, of painted stone, also from his Kentishtown chapel, and a stone image of the Trinity, with a "braunche of laton for iij lights according thereto it to be sett upon a foot of stone over the awter of the chapelle of oure Lady the fote of the said Trinitie, and it may be to staund a foote higher thane the hedes of the ymages of oure Lady and Seynt George." His bequest clearly conveys his hierarchical understanding of the potency, and correct positioning, of these images. It is possible that this bequest is a direct emulation of the positioning of the figures at Windsor, where the Virgin and St George flanked the high altar, presumably therefore at a lower level than the central images depicted in the alabaster tabernacle. Although we cannot now reconstruct the appearance of this tabernacle precisely, it is not impossible that its iconography may have referenced the Trinity and supported the loose association around the altar area with a representation of Last Judgement, in which St George took the place of St Michael. Bruges further stipulated that two "greter candlestikkis, beyng in my seid chapel at Staunford [should] serve in the chapel of oure Lady of Staunford that on to stand upon the ground afore the ymage of oure Lady and that other afore the ymage of Seynt George in the same chapel...and a taper... to be lighted atte dyvyne service atte principal fest dayes and at other solmpne festes as at Matyns Pryme Masse and the ij Evensonges". His gift of candlesticks, and provision for tapers to burn therein, would have functioned as a posthumous act of devotion on the part of Bruges, for the burning of candles in front of the images honoured their role as devotional aids within the liturgy, and perhaps encouraged those figures whom the images represented to think favourably of the Garter king of arms, and speed his way through purgatory. However, there was a practical side to this command too – providing a light in front of each of the images would have made them visible to others in the building, whose thoughts may have been prompted to think on the generous actions of the images' donor. His activities at the church, and their relationship to his role as Garter king of arms, once again confirm the importance of activity at the local, parish level for individuals whose means and contacts gave them access to alternative institutions. The link individuals such as Bruges, Hastings and Bray forged between parish actions and their activities at St George's, Windsor, stresses that although radically different in matters of scale, ceremony and

⁸⁹ St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.7. The preparations made for, and the appearance of the feast itself at Windsor, will be considered further in Chapter Four.

anticipated audience, we should not sever the rationale underlying the appearance of grand foundations from that underlying more humble, parish institutions. Lessons learned in one context were mapped onto another; the structuring of sacred spaces bore witness to these fluid dynamics.

Bruges' possible recreation of the iconography at Windsor within this chapel, in which a number of gifts supported central processional and liturgical tenets, may have paraphrased the actions of wealthier individuals at Windsor and further afield. The Windsor inventories record a number of gifts to the chapel from founder, and later, knights, whose "portraits," or coats of arms, would subsequently be depicted by Bruges in his book and at Stamford. The "Lord Clare" – Roger Mortimer, earl of March – gifted a missal to the chapel recorded in the 1384 inventory.⁹⁰ Edward, prince of Wales donated two red vestments embroidered with stars and eagles,⁹¹ Henry, duke of Lancaster, a cope of red velvet⁹² and two gilt candlesticks decorated with coats of his arms,⁹³ the earl of Warwick, a cope of black velvet⁹⁴ and a silver-gilt morse decorated with his coat of arms,⁹⁵ the duke of Gloucester (Thomas of Woodstock), three copes, two with dragons and lions fighting, and a third with baskets full of flowers.⁹⁶ Later described as the earl of Buckingham, Thomas of Woodstock also donated a silver gilt reliquary to hold the body of Christ,⁹⁷ the earl of Northumberland donated a mantle,⁹⁸ the earl of Pembroke a red carpet, decorated with his arms and a cup with a silver-gilt ewer,⁹⁹ and the duke of Brittany (John de Montford) made a gift of two mantles, one of velvet and one of blue silk decorated with pearls.¹⁰⁰ These gifts reflect their understandable interest in this prestigious chapel, and were probably motivated by the desire to prompt remembrance of their activities by later Garter Knights and college canons, who owed their Garter forebears a debt of prayer. The benevolence of these individuals parallels the twin desires of Bruges at Stamford to visually associate himself with the Garter Knights, and to also provide devotional objects for the church which would situate him closely to moments of liturgical significance. They also suggest a reason for Bruges' interest in Stamford rather than Windsor: within such a prestigious building, where so many had made gifts in order to prompt subsequent prayers, the accumulation of objects must have amounted to a certain 'watering-down' of their potency as

⁹⁰ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 33

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 43

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 65.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 63.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁷ *ibid.* p. 57.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*

devotional prompts. In contrast, Stamford offered Bruges the potential to articulate a clear, defined vision, in which he could single-out his generosity as a patron.

Bruges' ability to manipulate Garter imagery to express his public role, and his desire for salvation, through the visual linking of this role with St George, may reflect his witnessing of images and objects belonging to other Garter knights, particularly John, duke of Bedford, and John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. Consideration of the patronage activities of these two individuals, and their relationship to Windsor, allows an insight into the way understanding of sacred space, particularly in the context of the Order of the Garter, penetrated the mindsets of individuals of greater social rank than Bruges.

Bedford's loyalty and devotion to his sovereigns, Henry V, Henry VI, his fellow Garter Knights and a number of saints which include St George, are clearly apparent from the number of objects owned, acquired, adapted and commissioned by him. Many would have been for personal use, while others would have been used in his private chapels at his castle in Rouen, and his other residence there, "Joyeux Repos", in addition to his peripatetic chapel.¹⁰¹ As regent in France for the young Henry VI (until his coronation in 1431) Bedford's chapel had political importance and it was necessary for the scale and splendour of furnishings, priests and clerks to have matched the splendour of the recently dispersed chapel of the king of France, Charles VI and the chapels of the Valois princes such as Philip the Good.¹⁰² The scale of provision for his chapel, which has been closely scrutinised by Jenny Stratford, was therefore immense. A number of objects owned and used by Bedford appear particularly significant within the context of this study. Bedford may have adapted a processional cross, possibly the same one recorded in 1405 and 1408 as being in the possession of Louis of Orleans, to include a reliquary of St George.¹⁰³ The cross was in two sections, and when stored, was kept in two separate cases. In the upper section, Christ was fastened to a cross with three pointed diamonds representing the nails. The Virgin and St John stood on each side. The lower section represented Christ in a rock crystal tomb at the moment of resurrection, with three sleeping soldiers and an angel. At the foot was a reliquary containing a joint of St George.¹⁰⁴ Bedford also owned a silver-gilt diptych depicting the martyrdom of St George and a wooden tablet with relics of St George displayed behind rock crystal. It is possible that the imagery of the diptych may have mimicked the wood and gilt tablet on the

¹⁰¹ J. Stratford, "John, Duke of Bedford, as a Patron in Lancastrian Rouen" in J. Stratford (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen: Proceedings of the British Archaeological Association* (Leeds, 1993), pp. 100-102.

¹⁰² J. Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Wordly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389-1435)* (London, Society of Antiquaries, 1993), p. 65.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

north side of the high altar at Windsor – perhaps a personal reminder of the order's home Bedford could take with him on his travels.¹⁰⁵ In 1422, Bedford gave to the chapter of Notre Dame in Paris a magnificent jewel of gold constructed in three sections. The upper story consisted of a Trinity within a pavilion: images of Henry V and Catherine de Valois were on the oblong middle story, presented by St George and St Denis. The entire arrangement stood on a square base, was enamelled and weighed over 4 marks 5oz.¹⁰⁶ The iconography of this piece was probably designed primarily with the intention of reflecting the union of the two nations achieved by the marriage of Henry and Catherine, France represented by St Denis, and England by St George. However, this should not eclipse any secondary motivations Bedford had in commissioning the piece, which reflects also his loyalty to his dead brother, his desire to safeguard Henry V's French gains for his young nephew, and implies that his own devotion to St George and St Denis may too have been prompted by their ability to act as symbols of the two realms he was trying to balance as regent.

Bedford was buried at Rouen Cathedral on 30 September, 1435. Like Bruges at Stamford would later specify, he chose a situation of great honour as the location of his tomb – on the north side of the choir at the level of the high altar, between the piers facing the Chapel of St Peter and Paul near the other royal tombs. This location was also the one chosen in the new Chapel of St George by Edward IV as the site for his own tomb. The base of Bedford's tomb was of black marble, and the effigy almost certainly of white alabaster or marble, like Anne of Burgundy's tomb in the Celestine church in Paris. Dugdale, in 1648, drew the copper plate affixed near Bedford's tomb commemorating his chantry foundation.¹⁰⁷ A copy is in the Gaignières collection of funerary drawings. **III. 102** Above the inscription, each side of depictions of the Garter collar, were the Lancastrian ostrich feathers, with Bedford's root device under the garter, and within the collar a shield with Bedford's arms. The rich bequests Bedford left to the cathedral included a valuable gold chalice with jewels, a pair of huge silver-gilt censers, a silver-gilt processional cross, and a full set of vestments and hangings of red velvet embroidered with the root device in gold which Bedford had used in his own chapel.¹⁰⁸ Although the monetary value of this bequest is likely to have been much greater than Bruges', its nature and underlying sentiment is remarkably similar.

The frequency with which Bruges travelled abroad suggests there is a strong likelihood that he would have seen Bedford's chapel and objects associated with it. Bruges was at the chapter of heralds in Rouen in 1420, visited Bedford and the duke of Brittany in 1424, and

¹⁰⁵ See above, p. 144.

¹⁰⁶ Stratford, *Inventories*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁷ Stratford, "Bedford as Patron", p. 104.

¹⁰⁸ "Will of John, duke of Bedford, Rouen 1435", printed in Stratford, *Inventories*, pp. 393-396.

visited Bedford in France again in 1425, 1427, and 1429.¹⁰⁹ He was also sent from Rouen to the duke of Burgundy in 1431 or 1432.¹¹⁰ Bedford's association with the Order of the Garter at Windsor, where he deputised as sovereign during Henry VI's minority on a number of occasions, has been commented on above, and any stipulations concerning the ceremonial attached to the order would have been mediated through Bruges himself. Like Henry V, Bedford clearly gave consideration about the most appropriate way to articulate loyalty and devotion within the particular space of the chapel by directing the knights to kneel before both the sovereign and the high altar. Bedford and Bruges must have been well-acquainted and it is not impossible that conversations were held in which the spatial dynamics of ceremony were considered. Nor is it improbable that Bruges sought to model his own patronage activities on the most powerful individuals of the day, motivated, as they both were, to commission images and objects associated with St George. Bedford supplemented his interest in Windsor by making a substantial donation to the College of St George in 1422, of the spiritualities of the alien Priory of Ogbourne.¹¹¹ There is a clear connection between the intentions of this grant, which was made expressly in honour of St George, and of the Order of the Garter and instituted personal prayers for himself, for his parents and his ancestors, and the iconography of the Bedford portrait in his book of hours.¹¹² Whether Bruges would have been aware, however, of the personal image in the *Bedford Hours* (British Library MS 18850) in which Bedford too kneels before an image of St George, surrounded by scenes showing his tortures, is difficult to say for certain. **III. 103**

Bedford's inventories contain substantial information about the books he owned. Of these, a large number were acquired from the Louvre library collection after the death of Charles VI in 1422. However, in several cases, it is possible to associate Bedford directly with the commissioning or adaptation of luxury manuscripts. His manuscripts utilized the skills of the most famous artists of the day both in London and Paris, and we should be alert to the transfer of visual information, via patrons such as Bedford himself, his "court" and his contacts, between the two centres. For example, Bedford commissioned a poem from Laurence Calot in 1423 to celebrate (or persuade the French the merits of) Henry's claim to the dual crowns of France and England. In 1426, he asked Lydgate to translate this: the poem subsequently formed the source for manuscript illuminations that are linked to the Paris

¹⁰⁹ Stanford-London, *William Bruges*, pp. 71-72.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 73.

¹¹¹ *CPR: Henry V 1416-22*, p. 441.

¹¹² Stratford, *Inventories*, p. 114.

school, and pageant scenes in London which greeted Henry VI on his entry into London following his return from his French coronation.¹¹³

An early work which associates Bedford with the London workshop of Herman Scheere, is the *Bedford Hours and Psalter* (British Library, Add. MS 42131). Bedford can be recognised as its original owner by the presence of his coat of arms, his motto “pour souffrir” and his heraldic supporters, which are integral to the marginal decoration on the Beatus page,¹¹⁴ **III. 104** and by a line ending “I pray yow God save the duke of Bedford” inserted between the collects for peace. This manuscript must date from after 1414, when John of Lancaster was made duke of Bedford, and before 1422, due to the absence of his root supporters and the coats of arms of his wife, Anne of Burgundy. Of a series of portrait heads included in the manuscript in decorative capitals, a number most likely show Henry IV, Henry V, Lydgate, Sigismund and Bedford himself.¹¹⁵ In addition, it seems the particular scenes chosen to illustrate the psalter, which includes a miniature of a royal wedding, presumably that of David and Michal, Saul’s daughter, are not the normal series of illustrations to a psalter. **III. 105** It is probable that this alludes to the marriage of Henry V and Catherine.¹¹⁶ The association between David and Henry V would not have been out of place for Henry had been referred to the new David following his victory at Avignon.¹¹⁷

Three later manuscripts, made in Paris in the 1410s and 20s by the Bedford workshop, are associated with Bedford and with his first wife. The *Bedford Hours*, the *Salisbury Breviary* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 17294) and a sumptuous benedictional known as the *Pontifical of Poitiers*, which was destroyed in Paris in 1871.¹¹⁸ A copy of f. 83v. of this manuscript, made in 1837, shows the open, grand reliquary of the Sainte-Chapelle. **III. 106** Bedford kneels beside the high altar, decorated with two candles, behind which objects including the relic of the Crown of Thorns and that of the True Cross are displayed to the viewer. The arrangement of kneeling figure before carefully placed relics provides visual evidence for how such displays might prompt devotion. The existence of a

¹¹³ These verses, and their relationship to a later miniature in the Shrewsbury Book, will be considered below, pp. 167-169.

¹¹⁴ British Library Add. MS 42131, f. 73. D. H. Turner “The Bedford Hours and Psalter” in *Apollo* lxxvi (1962), p. 269. J. Stratford, “The Manuscripts of John, Duke of Bedford: Library and Chapel” in D. William (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 341-342.

¹¹⁵ J. H. Fisher, “The Portraits in the Bedford Psalter Hours (B.M. MS Add. 42131) and the Lancastrian Literary Affinity,” in N. M. Reale and R. E. Sternglantz (ed.), *Satura: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honour of R. R. Raymo* (Donnington, 2001), pp. 245-246.

¹¹⁶ Turner, “Bedford Hours”, pp. 265-7.

¹¹⁷ R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Illumination* (London, 1981), p. 106.

¹¹⁸ Stratford, *Inventories*, p. 94. C. Reynolds and J. Stratford, “Le manuscrit dit ‘Le Pontifical de Poitiers’” in *Revue de l’Art* 84 (1989).

shelf behind the altar in the old Chapel of St George, and the elaborate altar tabernacle,¹¹⁹ suggests that relics may have been displayed in a very similar way in the English chapel, implying that the construction and experience of sacred spaces crossed the same geographical boundaries as the patrons and worshippers who used them. In this context, the centrality of Bedford himself to the informative miniature implies that he desired to articulate an image that showed him as a devout, model user of sacred space.

Of the four manuscripts, Bedford's book of hours calls for fuller consideration because of the abovementioned portrait miniature. Begun in the 1410s, it is doubtful that this manuscript was made for Bedford himself. The calendar and the hours are for the use of Paris, whereas all the other known liturgical books made for Bedford are for the use of Salisbury, the use followed in his chapel.¹²⁰ The arms of the duke and duchess appear seven times in the manuscript in addition to the arms and devices found on the portrait pages, but they are not in the usual place.¹²¹ In the *Salisbury Breviary* and the *Pontifical*, they were placed in the margins of the main miniatures, but in the hours, they are inserted in various blanks at the end of textual sections. It seems likely instead that the book was made for a member of the French royal family.¹²² The body of the book falls into six unequal parts, each of which comprises a coherent sequence of multiple gatherings of eight leaves. One gathering of twelve leaves, carrying the calendar, precedes these sections. However, they are also interrupted by three groups of folios devoted to special materials, mainly full-page miniatures not directly related to the standard texts, which have been inserted.¹²³ These include: firstly a number of scenes from the Old Testament (fols. 13-18), secondly personal prayers and the portraits of the duke and duchess (fols. 256-259) and finally the story of Clovis and the fleurs-de-lys (fols. 288-289). The latter has been interpreted as relating directly to Bedford and Anne of Burgundy themselves,¹²⁴ and it is therefore highly likely that these personalised later insertions reflect specific demands of John, duke of Bedford, into whose possession the book had now come.

The portraits of the duke, kneeling before St George in the Garter robes, and the duchess, kneeling before St Anne, are decorated with their arms, mottoes and devices. **III. 103**

¹¹⁹ See above, Introduction, p. 6.

¹²⁰ Stratford, "Manuscripts," p. 343.

¹²¹ J. Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours* (London, 1990), p. 16.

¹²² C. Reynolds, "The 'Très Riches Heures', the Bedford Workshop and Barthélemy d'Eyck" in *The Burlington Magazine* (August, 2005) and P. Stirneman and C. Rabel "The 'Très Riches Heures' and two artists associated with the Bedford Workshop" in the same volume. Stirneman and Rabel indicate that the flowers, birds and animals in the borders below the miniatures have closer associations with the French royal family than they do with Bedford.

¹²³ Backhouse, *Bedford Hours*, p. 13.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 32-3. B. H. J. Rowe, "Notes on the Clovis Miniature and the Bedford Portrait in the Bedford Book of Hours" in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Ser. 25 (1962), pp. 57-60.

and 107 In the Bedford portrait, the root device, adopted during the regency, fills the border and is powdered on the red, white and blue chapel hangings, Bedford's colours. Jenny Stratford has observed that similarly decorated chapel hangings are recorded in his inventories.¹²⁵ That Bedford is portrayed kneeling before St George, and not before his personal patron, St John the Evangelist, as is apparent in the *Salisbury Breviary* (probably begun shortly after the hours),¹²⁶ is undoubtedly intended to underline Bedford's status as regent. Tiny shields of the arms of England are placed in the windows at the back of the composition. St George himself, on the right of the image, is shown wearing the ermine-lined sovereign's robe of the Order of the Garter over full armour and attended by a squire carrying his helmet, shield and lance. It has been observed that St George was Henry V's personal patron saint, and that in assuming the role of regent, Bedford had dedicated himself wholly to the charge laid upon him by his dead brother and king. Benedicta Rowe has suggested that if the figure of Henry V stands before Bedford in the portrait of St George, this would explain much that is unusual in the picture: the Garter robes, the sad solemnity with which the saint looks at the kneeling regent, and the finger pointing to the knot of the Garter mantle, which perhaps symbolized for Bedford the bond of loyalty which had special meaning for the Garter Knights.¹²⁷ It was not unknown for real individuals to take the place of biblical figures in illustrations; for example, the figure of Jeremiah on the right hand shutter of the *Aix Annunciation* bears a strong resemblance to the portrait of René of Anjou found on the left shutter of Nicholas Froment's *Triptych of the Burning Bush*, and is probably a portrait of the king.¹²⁸ However, this example dates from much later in the century. If the correlation between king and saint is being made in the Bedford miniature, this is an early, innovative example of this kind of image-play. Akin to the particular selection of images found in the *Bedford Hours and Psalter*, with its allusions to scenes from Henry V's own life, it implies that very precise information about image construction was being passed from patron to artist, confirming that looking at arenas in which these patrons experienced space is necessary to fully appreciate the complexity of the images.

Henry V's close interest in the Order of the Garter has been commented on above; in addition, Henry took St George to be his own personal patron, and fostered the cult of the saint as the national saint of England. A further, so far un-discussed clue, to the likelihood that Rowe is correct in her interpretation is found in the provisions made for the use of space

¹²⁵ Stratford, "Manuscripts" p. 343 and *Inventories*, pp. 189-190 and p. 279.

¹²⁶ Rowe, "Notes", p. 61.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 62.

¹²⁸ Y. Nishino, "Le Triptyche de l'Annonciation d'Aix et son Programme iconographique" in *Art et Historiae* 20 (1999), pp. 70-71.

in the Chapel of St George during Garter meetings.¹²⁹ It was Bedford who initiated the ordinance that Garter Knights must kneel before the king, in addition to kneeling before the altar. This was later refined by Henry V himself, who insisted that their devotion must be shown firstly to the high altar and only secondly to himself. If this shows the king represented as the patron saint of the high altar at Windsor, the miniature shows the two actions compressed into a single moment, in which the most significant expressions of personal devotion called for in the context of the Garter ceremony – religious and chivalric – are perfectly articulated.

The problem of whether the marginal roundels showing scenes of torture all relate to St George has recently been studied by Samantha Riches. In her study of the saint, she has argued that four of the five scenes can be found in other cycles of St George, including the cycles at Stamford and St Neot's.¹³⁰ The facing folio is not considered by Riches, but the two further marginal roundels frame a written prayer to St George. These show him kneeling before a wheel, and being beaten. These scenes also figured in the cycle at Stamford, and lend further support to her suggestion that all these scenes refer to St George. The juxtaposition of Bedford expressing his devotion to the patron saint of the Order of the Garter, with the images of torture associated with St George, rather than the conventional dragon narrative, parallels closely the intention underlying the later Stamford cycle as conceived by Bruges. In contrast, the relating portrait miniature depicting Anne of Burgundy kneeling before St Anne, shows entirely more conventional marginal images. **III. 107** St Anne's three husbands – Joachim, Cleophas and Salomas are represented in the margin to the left of the miniature and at the foot of page are her other daughters, Mary Cleophae and Mary Salome with their husbands Alpheus and Zebedee. Like the arrangement at Stamford, the directional gaze of the female (to the left) and male (to the right) patrons is comparable, and the scenes of torture are associated with the male patron, rather than their wives. There *is* evidence that women commissioned images showing torture. A thirteenth-century devotional picture book made for "Madame Marie" (probably Marie de Rethel, who in 1266 became the third wife of Wauter d'Enghien), contains many images of tortured male and female saints.¹³¹ However, although she is represented ten times in the manuscript, kneeling before her patron saints, in the scenes where she is shown kneeling, all of the saints are presented as portrait types. She therefore is not represented as witnessing any of the gruesome scenes herself.

¹²⁹ See above, p. 135.

¹³⁰ Riches, *St George*, pp. 52-53.

¹³¹ A. Stones, "Nipples, Entrails, Severed Heads and Skin: Devotional Images for Madame Marie" in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton, 1999), p. 49.

Bedford and his wife offered their book of hours to their nephew, Henry VI as a Christmas gift in 1430. At the duke's request, the transaction was recorded in detail in a long inscription added on the blank page which precedes his own portrait (f. 256r.). The portrait itself is commented on in the inscription, which was written and signed by Dr John Somerset, the young king's tutor and personal physician. Henry VI, already known for his own deep personal piety, therefore deliberately had his attention drawn to this image, in which the accompanying torture roundels are in keeping with the sad and solemn tenor of the central portrait. An interest in torture could be associated with the deep personal piety of the patron and this basic tenet is likely to have motivated both Bruges and Bedford to choose this iconography for their respective commissions. The images in the *Bedford Hours* are not placed in any narrative context, as they are in the Stamford cycle, suggesting that for Bedford, these brief snapshots of scenes from the saint's life were important because they illustrated a particular quality of the saint – probably his Christian forbearance – rather than narrating his path to martyrdom. Linking the idea of patient suffering to the important late medieval idea of *imitatio Christi*, might provide an appropriate way of interpreting the importance of these images for Bedford, Bruges, and even Henry VI, who was known to have a picture of the wounds of Christ at his bedside.¹³² The portrait of Bedford is inserted into the manuscript directly after the hours of the Passion, in which large miniatures depict scenes from the Passion including the agony in the garden (f. 208r.), the betrayal (f. 221), Christ before Pilate (f. 227), the scourging (f. 230), the carrying of the cross (f. 235r.), the seven words from the Cross (f. 240r.), the deposition (f. 245) and the entombment (f. 249). The emphasis on the physical suffering of Christ in the scenes such as that showing the scourging **III. 108** is comparable to the roundel image of St George being beaten on f. 257r., suggesting that Bedford's interest in the physical suffering of St George would most likely have tapped into similar sentiments elicited by observation of imagery associated with Christ's passion. The hours of the Passion was not a standard text for a book of hours, and the visual correlations between the scenes of the Passion, and of St George, suggests that Bedford's insertions visually accord with the devotional tenor of the earlier material. The brutality of St George's scourging is also apparent in the correlating image in the Stamford cycle, where blood drips from the saint, suggesting the emphasis on physical suffering may also have appealed to Bruges. **III. 109** That Bruges was interested in focussing on the visual representations of the corporality of holy personages is supported by Bruges' singling out of the feast of Corpus Christi for special mention in his will. This feast marked something of an annual climax of the growing late medieval preoccupation with the body of Christ, and Bruges' bequest

¹³² Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 304. See also above, Chapter Two, p. 85.

allowed him to acquire posthumous proximity to Christ's body itself in the form of the consecrated wafer, when this was placed in the monstrance he had donated.¹³³

The correlation between Bruges' use of imagery associated with St George and that of Bedford, suggests that Bruges *may* have witnessed the images in the *Bedford Hours*. It is possible that he may have been shown the book while in Bedford's possession, but equally possible that he saw the manuscript at a later date, perhaps once it had come into the possession of Henry VI. Such assertions must remain conjectural, but what can be more safely observed is that when both these individuals were provided with an opportunity to commission personal images associated with the Order of the Garter, and therefore with the Royal Chapel of St George at Windsor, they chose to associate themselves with pious images of suffering, rather than worldly images which focussed on the wealth, power and status of Garter Knights. Although therefore, the twin loyalties expected of Garter Knights, and no-doubt of their king of arms, embraced both expressions of spiritual propriety and chivalric devotion, they appear to have been articulated first and foremost within a framework of spiritual devotion.

Within the simple structure I have suggested was the old Chapel of St George, these studies suggest that access to the spiritual was the primary consideration. The increasing embellishment of this space with more "secular" decoration such as stall plates after 1421, the setting up of the first banner of arms above a Garter stall in the chapel (1424) and the indications that the fixing of helm and sword above the individual's stall was practiced in the 1420s (although it was not made a statutory requirement until 1519), mark the increasingly ornate use of worldly symbolism and iconography designed to impress upon Garter Knights their loyalties to each other and to their sovereign. In the old chapel, attempts to personalise this space were confined to temporary imagery, which could be removed and replaced when individual Garter Knights died. The emerging desire to formalise "ownership" of a space in the chapel, if only on a temporary basis, is attributable in many ways to the rise of chivalric learning and of heraldic science,¹³⁴ but although underway in the 1420s, this tendency does not seem to have rivalled the need for immediate access to the spiritual until later in the century. As long as the spiritual impulse remained primary, the old chapel functioned perfectly well, but when called on to provide space for more elaborate ceremonies and Garter imagery, it ultimately proved too simple a structure. Edward IV's decision to rebuild the chapel almost certainly indicates two things: firstly, that by the 1470s, the old chapel simply did not provide the level of spatial sophistication necessary for the complexity of

¹³³ See above, p. 155.

¹³⁴ Collins, *Order of Garter*, p. 245.

contemporary ceremony and secondly, that the knights themselves were beginning to think about a concept of sacred space in which assertion of the individual's worldly ambitions was becoming as important as their spiritual salvation.

Changing Ways of Looking: The New Chapel and the Order of the Garter

A miniature in British Library Royal MS 15 E vi, the *Shrewsbury Book*, dating from 1445, shows a Garter procession in which the knights kneel, their hands in prayer, on either side of an image of St George. **III. 110** This compilation of romances and treatises, made in Rouen for John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, was given to Margaret of Anjou on her marriage to Henry VI in 1445. It has been argued that Talbot used this gift to ensure that Margaret understood her new position not only as queen of England, but also as rightful queen of France.¹³⁵ The manuscript includes fifteen texts which include chivalric material, military treatises, and a copy of the statutes of the Order of the Garter. That not all this material was necessarily suitable for a new queen has given rise to the suggestion that the book was originally intended for Talbot himself, but hastily adapted in the ten months between Margaret's proxy betrothal to Henry, in May 1444, and her arrival in Rouen, in March 1445.¹³⁶ The presentation miniature shows Margaret, as queen of England, her right hand holding Henry VI's left, while Talbot dressed in Garter robes presents his volume of romances to the queen. **III. 111** The earl's own coat of arms, surrounded by the garter, are placed in the lower margin of the page. On the facing page, is a genealogical table in the form of a fleurs-de-lis, showing French and English royal descents from St Louis uniting in the figure of Henry VI of England. This is a version of a picture commissioned in about 1423 by John, duke of Bedford, who had it posted up with an accompanying poem in Notre Dame in Paris as part of a propaganda campaign for King Henry VI's claim to the French throne. The juxtaposition of these two images – the conventionally depicted dedication miniature, and the symbolical, stylised genealogical representation, which was not, in origin, a manuscript illumination – demands different things of the viewer. The union of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou is celebrated within a framed perspectival space on f. 2 – the blue ceiling decorated with stars suggests a chapel. Kneeling before them, placed centrally, is Talbot, proudly wearing robes powdered with garters. The illusion of depth in the miniature, and Talbot's placement at the front of the illustration, has the effect of drawing the eye in to share his view of Henry VI and his new queen. However, the flatter representation of the genealogy on the

¹³⁵ Reynolds, "Shrewsbury Book", p. 109.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 110.

recto, calls for an alternative kind of visual engagement. The French (on the left) and the English (on the right) lines of descent conclude at the bottom of the page in the figure of Henry VI. But the image needs to be “read” in order to reach this point, for the eye does not automatically come to focus on Henry VI. The effect of having to firstly scan for clues as to the image’s meaning, accentuates its representative nature, and awakens visual skills likely to have been honed in different contexts.

The accompanying French poem, commissioned from Lawrence Calot by Bedford in 1423, defends the Treaty of Troyes and extols Henry VI as a true Frenchman.¹³⁷ In 1426, Bedford commissioned Lydgate to translate the poem into English. Lydgate’s use of this imagery subsequently appeared in a number of his verses. The genealogical motif was used in the pageants greeting Henry VI on his triumphal entry into London following his French coronation, alongside a Tree of Jesse.¹³⁸ The juxtaposition of the well known Jesse Tree, with the royal genealogy, offered a guide for how to read the newer image for those who would not have been familiar with it. The comparison, and the placement of St Louis at the apex of the royal genealogy, suggests that although representative, this image was meant to tap into the quasi-religious visual sensibilities of the viewer. The act of bringing such a powerful analogy to bear on the genealogy, would have had the effect of emphasising the divine sanction articulated as underlying Henry VI’s claim to the French crown. This attitude may help us to understand the image within the context of the *Shrewsbury Book*.

One of the “subtleties” at the coronation banquet of Henry VI in 1432 described by Lydgate depicted

“Loo here two kynges righte perfit and right good
 Holy Seint Edward and Seint Lowes:
 And see the braunch borne of here blessed blode;
 Enheretour of the floure de lice!”¹³⁹

The second course of the coronation banquet, in Lydgate’s verse, showed the Emperor Sigismund alongside Henry V.¹⁴⁰ His text harks back to the splendour accrued by his father, and alludes to Sigismund’s election into the Order of the Garter, presenting these two as models to be imitated by the young king. The allusion to this achievement of Henry V, coupled with the image of the branch, alongside the type of references likely to be used to interpret the genealogical image, suggest that the visual capabilities of the patrons and users of

¹³⁷ J. W. McKenna, “Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal and Political Propaganda 1422-32” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXVIII (1965).

¹³⁸ McCracken, *Minor Poems*, part ii., p. 623.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 644.

¹⁴⁰ See also above, Chapter One, p. 36.

this type of imagery were increasingly able to project religious sentiment on to secular concerns. Particularly for Garter Knights, this developing ability matches a subtle changing of the way space was prioritised in the old Chapel of Saint George, indicating that the prevailing sentiment was moving in favour of a greater convergence of secular and sacred understanding of space. The intrusion of the secular into the territory of the sacred has long been remarked on,¹⁴¹ but this comparison suggests that it was achieved partly through enhanced visual sensibilities becoming able to map the experience of viewing one type of space onto the experience of using another.

The Order of the Garter, the embodiment of chivalric ideals for Talbot, is given particular emphasis within the *Shrewsbury Book*. In the two books of hours associated with Talbot and his wife, Margaret Beauchamp (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 40-1940 and MS 41-1950), he, like Bedford, also chose to be represented alongside an image of St George instead of either St John the Evangelist or St John the Baptist. **III. 112 and 113** His wife is represented before her patron saint, St Margaret. The trinity formed in the dedication miniatures which places an image of the Virgin and Child at the apex, and two saints who share the attribute of a dragon on either side, echoes the hierarchical figural relationships found at Windsor, where it is likely that dragon iconography may have been found on both the north and south sides of the high altar.¹⁴² Talbot's devotion to St George, was evident prior to 1441, for he had already presented vestments patterned with garters to the church of St Sepulchre in Rouen, in honour of St George.¹⁴³ In choosing to articulate his devotion to St George particularly, Talbot's sentiments appear to match those of William Bruges and John, duke of Bedford. Talbot's funerary chapel was to be dedicated to the Virgin and St George,¹⁴⁴ and like Bedford too, the effigy of Talbot on his tomb at Whitchurch, Shropshire, shows the earl in his Garter robes, decorated with the garter. **III. 114**

However, the *Shrewsbury Book* image of St George **III. 110** which introduces the section devoted to the Garter statutes, (f. 439r.) is altogether more conventional than those patronised by William Bruges and Bedford. Like the images Bruges chose to commission, the knights depicted most likely show Edward III and the founder knights, since Talbot, elected in 1424, would surely have been recognisable if Henry VI and the contemporary knights were

¹⁴¹ A. Martindale, "Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the late Middle Ages" in D. Wood (ed.) *The Church and the Arts* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 143-179.

¹⁴² See above, p. 143.

¹⁴³ Reynolds, "Shrewsbury Book", p. 111.

¹⁴⁴ H. Talbot, *The English Achilles: The Life and Campaigns of John Talbot, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury*, (London, 1981), p. 183.

depicted.¹⁴⁵ The focus is on the devotion of the knights to St George. Divided into two groups, within a space that is suggestive of a castle chapel, the knights kneel before the image of St George, on horseback slaying the dragon. St George is separated by an architectural frame and canopy from the space occupied by the knights themselves. This emphasis is in keeping with the priorities of the sovereign of the order, Henry VI, in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. An analysis of Henry VI's interest in the order, undertaken by Hugh Collins, has indicated that Henry VI upheld the ceremonies associated with it, at least until the collapse of effective government in the later 1450s.¹⁴⁶ Henry did not apparently take much interest in the College or Chapel of St George at Windsor, his attention being taken with his plans for the chapel and college at Eton. However, in 1458, a statue of St George mounted was commissioned by the Garter chapter, each member contributing to its cost, the king paying one hundred shillings.¹⁴⁷ This may be an indication of Henry's interest in the order's religious significance at least, if not in its martial dimension.¹⁴⁸ Although the knights wear the gowns of the order, powdered with blue garters, the tenor of the image goes some way towards matching those of Bruges and Bedford in that we are shown an image which alludes primarily to the knights' collective devotion to their patron saint rather than their chivalric duty to their sovereign. This, alongside Henry's attitude to the order, may also suggest that while the religious sentiment underlying the sovereign's attitude to the order remained paramount, the existing chapel remained an adequate space in which to conduct ceremonies.

However, the scaled-down iconographic content of this image, which lacks the narrative images of torture that are so prominent in Bruges' and Bedford's commissions, has the effect of emphasising the actual occasion depicted. Instead of an insight into the use and understanding of the legend of St George by those associated with the order, we are here shown what appears to be an idealised representation of a Garter ceremony. This didactic context is entirely appropriate for an image whose position within the collection of texts suggests that its role may have been to instruct and inform the young queen. That this image was noted, and the statutes read, by Margaret of Anjou, seems highly likely. Margaret received the Garter in 1447, a distinction she shared with the wives and widows of other Garter Knights, who were chosen personally by the king, rather than elected by members of the Garter fraternity.¹⁴⁹ She appears to have remained interested in the order and may have instigated the reservation of a stall in the Chapel of St George from 1458 onwards for Prince

¹⁴⁵ Reynolds, "Shrewsbury Book", p. 111.

¹⁴⁶ Collins, *Order of Garter*, p. 153 and p. 254.

¹⁴⁷ Anstis, *Register*, vol. i., p. 163.

¹⁴⁸ D. Dunn, "Margaret of Anjou, Chivalry and the Garter" in Scarff and Richmond (ed.), *St George's Chapel*, p. 45.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 45.

Edward. She may also have extended her influence into the nomination process for the election of new knights. Certainly a significant number of the companions admitted at this time were known to have been associated with Margaret, if within a broader framework of service to the house of Lancaster.¹⁵⁰

This image, which emphasises the devotional activities that predominated during an annual St George's day meeting, therefore provides a useful departure for a study of how Garter ceremonial changed over the course of the fifteenth century. If it used as evidence for the activities of the order in this period, it is in sharp contrast to another series of images showing the order meeting and celebrating their annual feast day in Edward IV's chapel in the *Black Book of the Garter* (St George's Chapel Archives, Windsor). Internal evidence of this manuscript suggests that it was compiled following detailed instructions from an officer of arms, probably from Garter king of arms. The date 1534 is written twice on the opening page of the manuscript in red on gold ground. There is ornamental border of grotesque scrolls in shaded silver grey, and a "portrait" of the founder of the order, Edward III, at the top of the page, standing against a red-background and wearing a blue garment. On the following pages are images of the sovereigns of the order up until 1534. The climax of the manuscript, however, appears on folios 189v.-190r. with an illustration of a meeting of the order, in which the knights represented correlate to those who attended the 1534 meeting.¹⁵¹ **III. 115** This seems to be the first depiction of a contemporary event. Prior to this, representations of the Garter Knights *en masse*, had focussed on the founder knights, rather than the knights of their own day, as indicated by the images patronised by Bruges and Talbot. This double-page illustration is divided into four parts. In the top left, we look through an arch into a large room, where considerable thought has been given to the correct rendering of perspective. Sitting on a throne in the centre of this room is Henry VIII; twenty-five of the founder knights stand on either side of the throne, once again depicted in a manner which suggests the desire to situate these individuals in a real, definable space, was paramount. In contrast to the image in the *Shrewsbury Book*, in which St George is the central figure around which the knights worship, the placing of Henry VIII centre-stage changes the tenor of the image. Instead of kneeling knights expressing their devotion to their patron saint, here they stand proud, expressing their loyalty and allegiance to their sovereign. The sovereign is distinguished from the knights themselves by his throne and canopy, but unlike the figure of St George in the *Shrewsbury Book*, Henry VIII shares the same architectural space as his fellow knights. The face of each Garter Knight is individualised, and it is possible that they are portraits which

¹⁵⁰ Collins, *Order of Garter*, p. 146.

¹⁵¹ E. Auerbach, "The Black Book of the Garter" in *Report of the Friends of the Society of St George* (1972-3), p. 151.

could have been recognised by their contemporaries. The broad face and shoulders of Henry VIII are certainly recognisable from Holbein's famous portrait of the king.

The depiction of a real event, instead of an abstract reminiscence of the founder knights grouped around an image of St George, suggests that in the ninety years separating the images commissioned by Bruges, Talbot and those in this manuscript, the understanding of the priorities of a Garter Knight had undergone a revision. In this illustration, the representation of chivalric loyalty to their sovereign eclipses the former priority of expressing their personal devotion to a patron saint. However, the religious impulse underlying the *raison d'être* of the order is not banished from the representation. If the manuscript illustrations are read as a text might be, then from the top left hand illustration, we progress visually to the illustration on the bottom left hand side: this shows a parade of the 1534 knights, wearing tabards decorated with their coats of arms. It seems that as they process along the page, they also process through time, heading from the moment in which they are represented standing alongside Henry VIII, towards a ceremony which would take place in the chapel, illustrated in the top right hand corner.

Although each knight can be identified, the procession is allegorical rather than actual, for there is no evidence that they ever wore robes decorated with their coats of arms, in place of their Garter mantles, nor that the foreign knights and sovereigns depicted actually attended a ceremony at Windsor. For the purposes of identification, the heraldic mantles are a useful tool – just as the tabards worn by the knights in *Bruges' Garter Book* were. However, there *are* elements of reality to the illustration. As dictated in the statutes, most of the knights processed to their place of worship in pairs, and Henry VIII followed alone. The scene in the upper right hand corner shows the knights arriving within the chapel. At the forefront of the procession, a crucifer in a gold cope stands before the altar. He is flanked by two figures in short, black copes, who may have been sacristans. Following are the three leading knights (three would have led the procession in order to allow the king to process alone at its rear). This practice conforms to the statutes issued in Henry VIII's reign for the arrangement of individual knights shown here, recognisable by the heraldry, reflects the command that the knights should process in stall-order into the chapel.¹⁵² The space depicted is not, however, an accurate representation of St George's Chapel in the sixteenth century. Flanking the choir are twenty-six ecclesiastics, probably representing the dean and twelve canons together with the thirteen priest vicars or minor canons which made up the College of St George, but there is no evidence of the rows of choir stalls which existed in the choir at Windsor. A further

¹⁵² Jefferson, "Statutes" p. 65.

inaccuracy arises in the position of three officers of the order within the procession – Garter king of arms, the register and black rod walk alongside each other, between the foreign sovereigns and the other knights. The records of the order show that its officers walked after the knights and before the sword of state.¹⁵³

Although the illustration does not provide evidence for the exact appearance of a meeting of the order, it is the closest pictorial representation of an early ceremony that we have. It must reflect a desire on the part of the compiler of the manuscript, thought by Ashmole to be Robert Aldrydge, register of the order and canon of Windsor from 1534 to 1537¹⁵⁴ and its illustrator, thought to be Lucas Hornebolte, who worked regularly for the king and who is described in the household accounts as a “pictormaker,”¹⁵⁵ to record visually the important elements of a contemporary Garter ceremony. The absence of an earlier illustration depicting such an event suggests that this desire was lacking during Bruges, Bedford and Talbot’s lifetimes. It is possible that the greater potential offered by the new Chapel of St George for the conduct of splendid ceremonies, in turn encouraged people to look at these events in closer detail. The building of the new, enlarged chapel therefore not only reflected emerging changes in the desire to rationalise space, but may also have prompted individuals to refine the conduct of ceremony still further. One of Henry VIII’s additions to the statutes of the order concerned the conduct of a ceremony to be celebrated by a companion in a local church, if they were unable to attend Windsor. They should erect a “capital stall,” that is a stall furnished with the arms of the order or of the sovereign with an encircling garter, and another stall furnished with the knight’s own arms, equally encircled by the garter, and set at the same distance proportionately in this church or chapel as were the two stalls at Windsor.¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, the orientation point of this ceremony is therefore the stall of the sovereign, rather than the high altar itself. This complements the focus on the sovereign in the *Black Book* illustration, suggesting that this new demand displaced the earlier emphasis on St George, and offering evidence that indicates space within the new Chapel of St George became increasingly secularised as a greater expression of loyalty to the sovereign was demanded from the knights. This is a fitting reading of an illustration which places the first “Supreme Head of the Church of England,” as Henry VIII styled himself after the 1534 Act of Supremacy, in a position formerly reserved for a saint.

Comparable miniatures survive documenting significant moments in the life of European orders of chivalry, including the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, founded

¹⁵³ Begent and Chesshyre, *Order of Garter*, p. 87.

¹⁵⁴ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 199.

¹⁵⁵ Begent and Chesshyre, *Order of Garter*, p. 79.

¹⁵⁶ Jefferson, “Statutes”, p. 64.

by Philip the Good in 1431. These survive largely in manuscripts of statutes of the order. In substance, these miniatures correspond to what we know from written sources. The full-page illumination depicting a meeting of the order under Charles the Bold shows the sovereign seated higher than the other knights, his stall raised on a dais. **III. 116** The knights are shown wearing their red robes, seated in choir stalls to the right and left, in the act of taking an oath. The officers of the order – the chancellor, treasurer, greffier and king of arms – stand in the foreground. The chapel choir is hung with tapestries, and the altar table draped with a richly embroidered cloth. But similarly to the image in the *Black Book*, the illumination is schematic – an illustrative example rather than an accurate representation. There is no evidence, for example, of the stall plates which were hung in the chapel prior to the meeting taking place,¹⁵⁷ and space is allowed for only twelve knights of the order, when in reality, there would have been thirty knights, seated in two rows of fifteen.¹⁵⁸ The desire to illustrate the activities of both the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Golden Fleece therefore seems to have focussed on the need to illustrate the essence of their activities within a particular space, rather than detailing them in scrupulous accuracy.

Changes made by Edward IV to the Order of the Garter confirm he may have been thinking of the potential the building offered to articulate a more hierarchical concept of secular space, within the conduct of the Garter ceremony, than had been desired by former sovereigns of the order. Revisions were made in 1480 to Article twenty-two of Henry V's statutes, which had stipulated that each new companion should take over the stall of the companion whose death had caused the vacancy he was filling. Although no permanent ruling was made, the sovereign moved the king of Spain into the stall of his predecessor, the duke of Clarence, but the duke of Burgundy's stall was given to a present companion, the king of Naples, and the duke of Ferrara, who was elected in place of Burgundy, moved into the stall of the king of Naples.¹⁵⁹ This positioning, based upon a regard for rank of nobility, was later enshrined in Henry VIII's statutes, and is apparent in the aforementioned illustrations. Costumes were also changed to reflect hierarchy. From the foundation of the order, both the surcoat and the hood had been powdered with garters embroidered in silver and gold. Throughout the fifteenth century, however, the costumes were decorated according to a scale which reflected their rank – a duke being allowed 120 embroidered garters, marquesses and

¹⁵⁷ O. de la Marche, *Mémoires*, (ed.), H Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (Paris, 1888), vol. iv., pp. 168-169.

¹⁵⁸ A. Kortweg, "La localisation des sieges des chevaliers dans les stalles des églises de 1431 à 1491" in C. Van den Bergen-Pantens (ed.) *L'Ordre de la Toison d'Or de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): Idéal ou Reflet d'une Société?* (Brussels, 1996), p. 209.

¹⁵⁹ Jefferson, "Statutes," p. 61.

earls 100, viscounts 90, barons 80, baronets 70 and knight bachelors 60.¹⁶⁰ This implies a changing understanding of the relationship between each individual, ceremonial space, and the visual forms used in the conduct of ceremonies.

This growing intrusion of wordly concerns into the sacred space of the Windsor Chapel did not displace the religious sentiment underlying the use of space, but does appear to have become an equally important consideration throughout the course of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Although moveable stall plates recorded the coats of arms of Garter Knights in the old chapel, and various gifts were decorated with coats of arms of donors, there is no evidence for embellishment of the structure itself with coats of arms surrounded by the garter, of the manner found on private funerary monuments and in books owned by Garter Knights. **Ill. 102, 112, 113 and 114.** The stonework of the new chapel, in contrast is decorated with numerous examples of individual Garter Knights' coats of arms surrounded by the garter, including those of William, Lord Hastings and Sir Reynold Bray. **Ill. 71 and 117**

In choosing the location that he did for his tomb, Edward decided on a position which would be visible to the Garter Knights processing through the chapel, but he also remained true to the long-held desire of individuals to be interred as close to the focus of daily and annual religious rites as possible. This desire can be identified underlying other changes he made to the statutes, including the introduction of a short-lived ordinance that since the order was dedicated to the Virgin as well as to St George, she also should be shown due honour by the companions, who were to "yerely use and weare their abite in every of the 5 Feastes of our Lady in like manner and formed as they doe in the Feast of Saint George...bering in the same Feastes an ymage of our Lady with her Son in her right Arme of golde upon their mantles on their right shouldre."¹⁶¹ Imagery used within the new chapel confirmed the re-affirmation of the Virgin's role alongside that of St George. Fixed to the wall between the four returned stalls and the side-stalls of the choir are wooden niches containing carved figures. On the north, the scenes show St George, St Catherine and Our Lady and Child, while on the south, the niches contain St John the Evangelist, Edward the Confessor, and a third king, probably St Edmund.¹⁶² The carved desk-ends and poppy heads of the choir stalls on the south side of the chapel contain a further combination of scenes from the life of the Virgin and of the life of St George. **Ill. 12** Those on the north show scenes from the life of Christ but it is no longer clear what those on the returned stalls originally showed, for they were replaced by Henry Emlyn's carvings between 1787 and 1790.

¹⁶⁰ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 214.

¹⁶¹ Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1128, f. 111v.

¹⁶² James, *Woodwork*, not paginated.

This intertwined double narrative in the later building reflects the coupling of imagery of the Virgin and St George around the high altar in the former building. It also recalls the presence of the Virgin and St George in the alabaster tabernacles discussed above, and the presence of the Virgin in the glazing scheme at Stamford. The six scenes showing the Virgin, and the ten showing St George, do not appear to have been arranged with regard to narrative context, suggesting that the images were intended to be decorative rather than didactic, as it would only be rarely that any individual undertook to look at all of the subjects in turn.¹⁶³ However, there may be some logic to the arrangement as it stands. Generally the scenes of the Virgin are grouped closest to the high altar, with one exception – that of the assumption, which faces west at the most westerly end of the lowest row of choir stalls, and was therefore the closest scene to the sovereign's stall. **III. 118** This complements the desk-front carvings of the sovereign's stall, which show the annunciation, divided into three scenes depicting Gabriel, a vase with three lilies and a bleeding heart within a crown of thorns, and finally the Virgin kneeling at a desk with a book. This implies an element of interest on the part of Edward IV regarding what he himself would see; similarly he almost certainly personally requested the Treaty of Picquigny misericord below him. The other side of the desk shows St George kneeling before the Virgin – this image of the devotion of the chapel's patron saint, to the powerful Virgin, would have been seen by those sitting in the adjacent choir stalls, looking at the sovereign. **III. 119** It may perhaps have been chosen to emphasise Edward IV's role as an exemplary leader as sovereign of the Order of the Garter.

A number of the scenes showing details from St George's life show the dragon legend, and details of torture scenes found in other cycles, including St George being poisoned, being dragged, fighting the dragon and leading the dragon back to the town. However, there are several unusual scenes represented, such as the princess taking leave of her parents, and a number of scenes omitted which formed identifiable English aspects of the legend, such as the resurrection of the saint by the Virgin. Some of these scenes may have been illustrated in the now-lost subjects of the returned stalls, but the choice of subjects may also provide evidence of Flemish influence in the design of the choir stalls. It is possible that some of the carvers were foreign, or that the scenes were made by English carvers under the direction of a Flemish designer.¹⁶⁴

The cycle does appear to confirm, however, that what seems to be important above and beyond the construction of an identifiable linear narrative is the understanding of who would

¹⁶³ Riches, "Imagery of the Virgin Mary", p. 153.

¹⁶⁴ See above, Chapter One and *ibid.*, p. 153.

view a particular image, at what point and from what angle. This reinforces the suggestion that at Stamford, Bruges was tentatively exploring narrative constructs based on his own line of vision as much as any historically “accurate” story. That the approach to looking at how images functioned in space was becoming increasingly sophisticated during the fifteenth century, is evident from the records of ceremonial we have taking place in the chapel during this time. The role of heralds, in particular Garter king of arms, and other individuals associated with the chapel and the Order of the Garter, facilitated the recording of information necessary to organise the conduct of ever-more elaborate and complicated ceremonies, which made maximum use of the space available to them within the new, enlarged chapel.

One of Bruges’ supposed tasks, as indicated in the Ordinances, was to record the feats of men at arms. If this *was* undertaken by Bruges, the evidence no longer survives. However, for one of his successors, John Writhe, Garter king of arms from 1478 until his death in 1504, there is evidence that he did record real-life achievements of Knights of the Garter. A manuscript known as *Writhe’s Garter Book* consists of a number of bound-together works dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁵ Work on the *Garter Book* seems to have begun around the mid-1480s and may have been connected with Richard III’s charter of 2nd March 1483–4 confirming Coldharbour as a base for the newly incorporated body of heralds, wherein every king of arms was given a place for his own library, (implying that by 1484 the heralds possessed a library of some size.)¹⁶⁶ Of this residence they were dispossessed a year and a half later; they were not to be gathered together again until 1555, at Derby House.¹⁶⁷ The first section of the manuscript, consisting of the statutes of the Order of the Garter, with paintings of officers in their robes, is in the hand of a scribe used by John Writhe’s son, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter king of arms from 1505 until his death in 1534. The second section consists of a series of painted arms, crests and badges of the Knights of the Garter, with short accounts of their lives in the margins, written down to 1488 in Writhe’s hand, and until 1510 in a hand associated with Wriothesley. A third distinct section is a series of twenty-four illustrations concerning ceremonials relating to the Knighthood of the Bath. The artist of these has been associated with the artist of the scenes of St Stephen in the Hastings chantry.¹⁶⁸ The combination of materials in this manuscript, in contrast to the focus on St George and the arms of the successive Knights of the Garter found in *Bruges’ Garter Book*, gives the impression that by Writhe’s day, heralds were more focussed than ever before on scrupulously detailing ceremonial and both observing and recording real-life events. The portrait of Wriothesley, handsomely crowned among fellow officers of the Garter **III. 120**

¹⁶⁵ British Library, Loan MS 90.

¹⁶⁶ Wagner, Barker and Payne, *Writhe’s Garter Book*, p. 1. Also Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 130.

¹⁶⁷ Payne, “Sir Thomas Wriothesley”, p. 146.

¹⁶⁸ See above, Chapter Two, pp. 93–95.

shows, not the image of the pious herald kneeling before a patron saint, but a proud individual, vested in his ceremonial robes, displaying his status and position.¹⁶⁹

Ceremony in Practice: The 1506 Investiture of King Philip of Castile.

It may have been Wriothesely, in his capacity of Garter king of arms, who was responsible for co-ordinating one of the installations in the new chapel for which we have a close description. The text detailing the investiture of Philip of Castile in 1506 is of comparable detail to those describing the arrangements for Edward IV's funeral, but is far more elaborate than any information we have for the early fifteenth century investiture of Sigismund with the Garter. It appears to be a full account of the ceremonies concerned with his stay in England, which pays special attention to the investiture at Windsor, and would most likely have been drawn up by a herald who witnessed the occasion, if not Wriothesely himself. The text is included in a manuscript written by a hand dating from the time of James I of England, which seems to be a transcript of an earlier manuscript.¹⁷⁰ A closer analysis of its contents allows us to appreciate more fully precisely how the space was used in the chapel during Order of the Garter related rituals.

The narrative begins with the circumstances of King Philip's arrival in England. *En route* from Flanders to Spain, he was forced by a storm to land at Calais. Henry VII took advantage of his unexpected arrival to invite him to Windsor, and to invest Philip with the Order of the Garter, to which he had been elected in 1503. Henry received Philip at Windsor on 31st January, a reception which the author describes in detail, showing the same concern with precedence and hierarchy indicated by the earlier authors of Edward IV's funeral. He is able to evoke something of the visual quality of the event.

"First his grace [King Henry] rode towards the said king of Castile a mile or more out of Windsor, and there in an arable field met with him and when the king's company approached near to the said king of Castile some stood on one part and some on the other part, and so made a lane that the two kings might meet together. And when the king of Castile perceived the king he took off his hat, and in the like manner the king took off his, and with a loving and glad countenance each saluted and embraced the

¹⁶⁹ Payne, "Sir Thomas Wriothesley", p. 147.

¹⁷⁰ J. Gairdner (ed.), *Memorials of Henry VII* (Rolls Series, 1858), p. lv. The full text is printed pp. 282-303.

other and the said king took the king of Castile of his left hand, and in good ordinance, rid towards the said castle of Windsor, the officers of arms bearing their coats of arms... The earl of Derby bore the sword right before the king. It is to be noted that there were many nobles very well appointed, both with cloth of gold and goldsmith's work..."¹⁷¹

The author appears sensitive to the protocol governing the meeting of two important monarchs, noting how, as the visitor, the king of Castile was the first to take off his hat, for example. He also indicates the kind of visual trappings which accompanied the meeting, observing how the officers of arms bore their coats of arms, and a sword was carried before the king. Those attending were evidently fabulously dressed in embroidered cloths of gold.

The herald goes on to detail the reception ceremony once Philip reached the castle, again observing the cloths of arras and the "great rich bed" which were placed in the king's chamber. Henry VII accompanied Philip of Castile through two further chambers, each of which were hung with tapestries, cloths of estate and "as rich a bed as I have seen," but Philip of Castile excused him from accompanying him into a fourth chamber which was "hanged with rich cloth of gold, the border above of crimson velvet and embroidered with the king's arms, with other the king's devices, as roses, portcullises &c." His account betrays a herald's eye for the visual display of heraldic devices, and suggests that the visual trappings of value and therefore worthy of observation, were the tapestries and richly hung beds of state.

The following day, being Sunday 1st February, it appears that Henry VII attended mass in a chapel attended by many nobles. Again, a sword was borne before the king, as shown in the illustration in the *Black Book*, III. 115 and the herald goes on to inform us that "in the right hand at the upper end of the choir of the said chapel there was ordained a very large travars of cloth of gold, in the which the king sat and heard the mass." It is unclear whether the herald is actually referring to St George's Chapel on this occasion. Immediately prior to this, he informs us that the king had been lodged in the queen's lodging the previous night, and this may suggest that Henry VII heard mass in the domestic chapel at Windsor. The castle had had an additional chapel to St George's at least prior to the reign of Edward III, for accounts record repairs in the chapel made during his reign. It was large enough to have accommodated choir stalls, a vestry and a closet, which were rebuilt in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.¹⁷² That Henry heard mass in this chapel and not in St George's is borne out by the author's use of the term "chapel." When he later refers to the investiture ceremony in St George's he uses the term "Church." The structure he describes being set up for Henry in the

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 283-284.

¹⁷² Colvin, *Kings' Works*, vol. iii., p. 322.

chapel may resemble the temporary tent-like structure appearing in an illumination in Brussels Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9092, f. 9, showing Philip the Good attending mass. **III. 31** There, a richly embroidered tent is also placed in the upper right hand side of a choir, hung with sumptuous tapestries. From this vantage point, Philip the Good was shielded from the rest of the congregation, but had an unimpeded view of the mass being celebrated at the altar.

The herald goes on to describe in detail the next eight days of the king's stay at Windsor. He records the banquets and dances that were held in the king's honour, and comments on the hunting that took place in the Windsor parks. Throughout, he shows the same characteristic concern with tapestries, robes, the carrying of swords before each of the kings, and the visual expression of hierarchical relationships between the two monarchs. On the 3rd February, for example, he notes that at mass "both kings offered at once, the king of Castile somewhat after the king". On 5th February, he informs us that a book containing the statutes of the Order of the Garter was delivered to the king of Castile. These were customarily delivered to the individual to be invested in order that they could be scrutinised prior to the point of investiture.

On the 9th February, the investiture itself took place, and the author describes the ritual fully. The two kings rode to St George's, preceded by Garter king of arms, and Toison d'Or king of arms, the ambassador of Spain, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester. Knights of both the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Golden Fleece followed. All alighted

"at the middle door of the body of the Church, and so went still in their gowns, without entering the choir till they came to the chapter door, where all the knights did on their mantles. And so proceeded to the chapter house which was honestly hanged, all the great board covered with cloth of gold and the forms covered with bodkin. And at the end by the king there was laid a cushion of cloth of gold whereupon was laid the very [Cross]"¹⁷³

From the castle the processional route had taken them through the middle and lower wards, to the south door of St George's, close to the chantry recently completed by Bray. Ashmole observes that the south door was the usual entry into the chapel for ceremonial occasions, until the fifteenth year of the reign of Charles II, when the route was directed through the west doors of the chapel.¹⁷⁴ In the new chapel, this brought the participants of the ceremony into the nave from where they processed northwards, keeping the choir immediately to their right, and into the north ambulatory towards the chapter house, past the tombs of Donne, Hastings

¹⁷³ *Memorials of Henry VII.*, p. 293.

¹⁷⁴ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 548.

and Edward IV himself. This would suggest that the processional / ceremonial axis of the chapel was anchored firmly at the east end, particularly along the north choir aisle, and that in the early part of the chapel's history, the potential offered by a spacious nave was not fully exploited for court ceremonial purposes. The knights then donned their mantles, which would have been hanging in the north choir aisle, before proceeding through the nearby door into the chapter house. During the festal celebrations of the order, rather than the investiture ceremony here discussed, entry to the chapel at vespers on the eve of the feast was through its east end door, the only surviving architectural structure from the former chapel, from where they processed to the chapter house, firstly making a stand in the north aisle by Edward IV's tomb.¹⁷⁵

The chapter house was decorated in the way described by the author. He provides no information on the subject of the tapestries decorating the chapter house, but comparison with the college inventory of 1501 reveals numerous cloths of gold and of arras which may have been suitable for such an occasion.¹⁷⁶ The 1478-9 building accounts for the chapel also refer to tapestries being purchased for the chapter house, but it seems these were not the ones displayed on this occasion, for the payment recorded is "for 90 yards of tapestry, white, red and green with arms of St George and the Garter for the new chapter house, and two pieces of border-Alisaundre for the same house, and fourteen yards of green cloth for the table in the said chapter-house".¹⁷⁷ The herald informs us that at the end of the chapter house was placed the relic of the True Cross, resting on a gold cushion. This was one of the most important relics of the chapel, having been donated by the founder of the order, Edward III, probably in 1352. It is depicted in a roof boss over the south choir aisle showing the founder, Edward IV, and Bishop Beauchamp kneeling on either side. **III. 19** That it is placed in a position of honour during the Garter investiture ceremony indicates the esteem in which this relic was held; it also acts as a commemorative visual link with the original founder of the order.

A chair for the sovereign to sit in, decorated with cushions of gold, had been placed at the end of the chapter house. The arrangement of the chapter house ceremony probably resembled the grouping of the figures around Henry VIII shown in the *Black Book of the Garter*. **III. 115** During the part of the investiture ceremony which took place in the chapter house, the author informs us that the statutes of the Garter, "sealed with the seal of the Garter" were delivered by Garter king of arms to the bishop of Winchester, who then delivered them to the sovereign. The reverential conveying of important objects through successive pairs of

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 517.

¹⁷⁶ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 159.

¹⁷⁷ Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 379.

hands resembles the elaborate procedure for offering up a king's achievements we saw taking place at Edward IV's funeral. Once the statutes were offered to Henry VII, they were placed "under the mass book, the one half of the book of the statutes, so that one might see the other half for the book lay open." At this point, Philip of Castile recited his oath, placing his hand on the "canon of the mass;" this was often illustrated with the crucifixion. Visually therefore, just as the relic of the True Cross reminded the participants of the ceremony of their Christian duty as knights of the order, so too did the placing of a book of the order's statutes in contact with the bible remind the individual taking the oath of the multiple obligations of a true chivalric knight. The visual was reinforced verbally by the process of oath taking, in which the individual first declared their allegiance to God, before promising to uphold the honour of the sovereign and of the order. Having taken the oath, the king of Castile kissed the book and the relic of the True Cross, and then signed "with his own hand" the oath. Here the juxtaposition of the ritual engagement with visual forms, with the quasi-legal character of the process of signing the oath in front of witnesses, combined to create a moment of intense solemnity. This arrangement paraphrases a visual feature of the south choir aisle. Underneath the roof boss depicting the True Cross is a canopied recess, with the remains of an iron plug, possibly for chaining some relic or book.¹⁷⁸ Nearby is written an inscription which records a relationship between the relic of the True Cross and a book.

"Who lyde this booke here. The Reverend Ffader in God Richard Beauchamp Bisschop of this Diocyse of Sarysbury and wherefore to this entent that preeestis and ministers of goddis chirche may here have the occupacion thereof seyyng therin they divine seryse and for alle other that iystyn to sey therin theyr devocyon ~ askyth by any sp[ec]uall mede yee asmoche as oure lord lyst to reward hym for his good entent praying every man w[ith h]is dute or devocion is eased by thus booke they woll sey for hym this com[m]une[al] Oryson ~ D[omi]ne Fhu[th]re; knelying in the presence of this holy Crosse for the wiche the Reverend ffadir in god above seyde hadde graunted of the tresure of the Chirche to ev'ry an xl days or pardun".¹⁷⁹

The passage suggests that the placing of a book, probably a copy of the Sarum missal, in proximity to the True Cross during the Garter ceremony mimicked an already traditional devotional practice which took place in the chapel. On the occasion of the investiture, however, by placing a copy of the statutes in proximity to both emblems, the tradition was manipulated and made specific to the requirements of the Garter.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 412.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.* The restored inscription is still visible in the chapel.

The Garter was then delivered to the king of Castile by the earl of Surrey, who strapped it around his knee, and the king immediately left the chapter house in order to change his “gown of cloth of gold” for “the gown of the Order”. He then returned to the chapter house, where Henry VII placed the collar of the order around his neck. The mantle and the hood of the order were then delivered to Philip of Castile, and the first part of the ceremony was concluded.

The action then shifted to the choir, although the herald cites nothing of the procession from the chapter house to the choir, noting merely that the king of Castile “proceeded to the stall, which was next to the king’s stall, and there the king led him by the hand and put him in his stall.” He notes that subsequently “all the other knights went to their stalls” suggesting that on this occasion, contrary to the depiction in the *Black Book*, Henry VII and Philip of Castile had been leading the procession into the choir. Mass was sung by the bishop of Chichester, and following the gospel reading, the archbishop of Canterbury brought the book of the Evangelists to the king, “and after the king had kissed it, the king of Castile kissed.” The college inventory for 1501 records only one book which is likely to have been appropriate for this occasion, and it is possible that this was the same book that the king of Castile had kissed in the chapter house. It is described as

“A book of the Gospels having on one side a cover of red velvet, and on the other, one of silver gilt, containing the figures of the Crucified and the Evangelists enamelled, with two silver-gilt clasps bearing the arms of St George.”¹⁸⁰

The description of this gospel book as the “book of the Evangelists” implies that the herald may have witnessed the lavishly enamelled binding, suggesting that when offered to the king to kiss, the book was presented closed. The obligations agreed during the process of investiture were therefore solemnised over an image in which the heraldic devices of St George were placed in proximity to a depiction of the crucified Christ. This potential to associate St George, in particular his suffering, with those of Christ, has been identified as underlying earlier depictions of St George patronised by those associated with the Order of the Garter.¹⁸¹ From here, both kings proceeded to the altar to make their offerings, the herald noticing how Henry VII proceeded with, and not in front of the king of Castile, and how both made their offering to the altar at the same time. Following the two kings, the prince of Wales offered, and finally the other knights, “two and two together”. The inventory of 1501 describes a high altar frontal as being “of blue velvet, embroidered with roses, some white and

¹⁸⁰ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 149.

¹⁸¹ See above, p. 156 and pp. 165-166.

others red".¹⁸² If this was the frontal used on this occasion, the use of a blue velvet covering recalls that depicted in the illumination of the Golden Fleece feast day **III. 116** but it is not possible to ascertain this for certain.

This concluded the investiture ceremony of Philip to the Garter, but there were other matters still to attend to before the company could leave the choir. Both kings were presented with a copy of the peace treaty the two kings had negotiated, which each signed and exchanged. Following this, a sermon was given by Doctor Routhalle, "the king's secretary...the purpose of which was to expound the said amity openly" and both kings solemnized the written agreement by returning to the altar and once again swearing on the book of the Evangelists and the Holy Cross to observe the terms of the treaty. Both then returned to their stalls in order to listen to the *Te Deum laudamus*, which was sung by the bishop of Chichester. The ceremony in the choir was concluded by trumpeters in the rood loft playing "continually till the king and the king of Castile, my lord prince, the knights of the order with other noblemen and officers entered the chapter house door". In the chapter house, a corresponding investiture of the prince of Wales, this time to the Order of the Golden Fleece, took place, which replicated almost exactly in detail Philip of Castile's investiture to the Garter only a few hours earlier. Even the oath was "like in all things to the oath the king of Castile had made, changing the name of the prince and of the order" just as the vestments were changed from those of the Garter to those of the Golden Fleece. The ritual in the church concluded, Garter king of arms and Toison d'Or king of arms led the procession from the church back to the castle, where customary celebratory feasts were held.

The herald does not provide as much detailed visual information as he could about the chapel itself. He says nothing of the way the choir was decorated or lit, and is frustratingly silent about the route taken by the knights from the chapter house to the choir, for example. However, he manages to convey something of the multi-sensual construction of such an important ceremony. He is sensitive to clothing, tapestry and observes the main visual symbols of the ritual – the books that were kissed, the place of honour accorded to the relic of the True Cross, and the collars of the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Golden Fleece which were exchanged. He also manages to convey the importance of the aural in addition to the visual, noting the different verbal and musical elements of the ceremony – the act of reciting the oath, taken in French; the saying of the masses; and the Latin oration of the king's secretary on the conclusion of the peace treaty. He notes the singing of the *Te Deum laudemus*, and in his comment that the trumpets that "stood in the rood loft blew", one senses

¹⁸² Bond, *Inventories*, p. 157.

his appreciation of the contrast between the two musical interludes, one anchored at the ground level of the choir, and the other ringing across the chapel from above.

The occasion the herald described was an exceptional one. The double investiture of Philip of Castile to the Garter and the prince of Wales to the Order of the Golden Fleece, as the commencing and concluding aspects of a ceremony whereby an important peace treaty was signed, was without precedent in the history of the new chapel. This may explain the many departures from protocol noticed by Elias Ashmole on the correct procedure for investing new knight companions with the Order of the Garter. He noted how, for example, it was very unusual for the knight-elect to be admitted to the chapter house immediately on their entrance to the chapel – usually there were asked to wait in the east ambulatory, where “velvet cushions would be placed for them”.¹⁸³ Ashmole also observes that it was unusual for the sovereign himself to invest the knight-elect with the mantle, as occurs in the case of Philip of Castile.¹⁸⁴

The ceremony differed, however, largely in matters relating to hierarchy, rather in the way it was celebrated visually. Although Philip of Castile was accorded more honour than usual knights-elect undergoing the process of investiture, this was expressed through Henry investing him with the mantle in person, and demonstrating to the onlookers, by requesting that Philip of Castile accompanied him to the altar so both monarchs could offer at the same time, that they were both monarchs of equal rank. Philip’s position as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece was acknowledged throughout, and the respective kings of arms of each order processed alongside each other – neither yielding a position of hierarchy to the other. This herald also paid very close attention to the relic of the True Cross, an emphasis which recalls Walsingham’s focus on Sigismund’s presentation of the heart of St George in the 1416 investiture. Their isolation of these particular props suggests that the objects held in the highest esteem in the Chapel of St George were those deemed to have intrinsic qualities in addition to the visual. The treatment of relics, rather than the treatment of other images in the chapel, was noticed by the authors because they sanctified the solemnity of the occasion and had an appeal that was tactile, not merely visual, indicated by the herald’s comments that the king of Castile and Henry VII repeatedly kissed the True Cross during the investiture ceremony.

The same ritual engagement with visual relics was found in meetings of the Order of the Golden Fleece. This order had been created by Philip the Good in 1431, possibly as a way

¹⁸³ Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, p. 349.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.350.

of forging a bond between nobles from the duke of Burgundy's diverse territories. It had quickly grown to rival the Order of the Garter as one of the most prestigious European orders of chivalry, and many of the Golden Fleece's statutes may have been modelled on those of the Garter. During a celebration of the order's feast day, a pax – a panel with a representation of the Passion – was passed around for each member of the order to kiss.¹⁸⁵ This came at the conclusion of the chapel ceremonies, and seems to function in a similar way to the kissing of the True Cross and the enamelled image of the Crucifixion on the Chapel of St George's book. It sealed the solemnity of the occasion, and impressed upon the knights their allegiance to both sovereign and God in an order of Christian brotherhood.

The relationship between the ceremony described in St George's and the ceremonies celebrated by the Order of the Golden Fleece may run deeper still, for the greater attention paid to recording the visual can also be found in continental examples. Noting the first meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Dijon in 1431, Monstrelet (a chronicler who on some occasions could be remarkably sensitive to the visual – he left a reasonably full account of the processional pageantry accompanying Henry V's funeral obsequies for example¹⁸⁶) recorded merely that it took place.¹⁸⁷ Later in the century, however, Olivier de la Marche, the historian and chronicler to the Burgundian court whose *Mémoires* covered the period 1435 to 1492, wrote to Philip the Fair to inform him of the correct way to conduct a meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In contrast to Monstrelet, his account provided full details of the visual construction of the ceremony, comparable to the record of the investiture of Philip of Castile.¹⁸⁸ That Olivier de la Marche was called upon to provide such a detailed account of the visual protocol for a meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece confirms that the growing desire to precisely map the visual was as important on the continent as it was in England.

Unlike the Order of the Garter, the Knights of the Golden Fleece seldom met in the same church twice. Although in letters patent issued in 1432, Philip the Good had indicated that he wished the fixed seat for the order to be in the chapel of his palace at Dijon in northern Burgundy, the order met there only once.¹⁸⁹ That meetings of the order were subsequently itinerant may have been part of a conscious policy on the part of Philip the Good. Meeting in different towns gave the monarch and his knights an opportunity to visit his extensive territories, and may therefore reinforce the notion potentially underlying the creation of the

¹⁸⁵ F. De Gruben, "Les Chapitres de la Toison d'Or à l'époque Bourguignonne (1430-1477)" in Bergen-Pantens (ed.), *L'Ordre de La Toison D'Or*, p. 82.

¹⁸⁶ Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, vol. i., p. 484 and see above, p. 63.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 624.

¹⁸⁸ Marche, *Mémoires*, vol. iv., pp. 166-189.

¹⁸⁹ Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 386.

order – that of creating a bond of allegiance between diverse areas. Certain features of the Order of the Golden Fleece ceremonies are most likely best understood in this context. Of these, the focus on matters of precedence is arguably the most important. In the early history of the Order of the Garter, all knights were supposed in theory to be equal – a knight newly invested with the Garter would sit in the seat left vacant by his deceased or disgraced predecessor regardless of rank. The regulations governing seating in the Order of the Golden Fleece, however, were different. Places were allocated on the basis of four separate factors namely civil rank, time of admission to the order, time of admission to the status of knighthood and time of birth were all taken into consideration.¹⁹⁰ Philip most likely felt that his own equals and superiors had to be treated with special consideration, as they would be otherwise unlikely to accept admission to the order. As a result of this stipulation, the position of each companion in processions to the various chapels and chapter houses must have changed more or less significantly from one meeting to the next. Individuals such as Olivier de la Marche, and the herald Toison d'Or, were responsible for adapting visual props and establishing ceremonial procedures to fit the different foundations. Thus in describing the preparation of a chapel for a meeting – the setting-up of stall plates, and the creation of a seat for the sovereign which would place him higher than the other Knights of the Golden Fleece, Olivier de la Marche provides evidence for the temporary, *ad hoc*, appropriation of a sacred space.¹⁹¹ In the Burgundian counterpart, therefore, the closely forged relationship between the position of the knights companions and the building itself, so important at Windsor, was a much less crucial component of the ceremonial ritual.

This focus in the Order of the Golden Fleece on the need to construct visual ways to represent the relative social status of its members, whose position in proceedings was not guaranteed by the possession of a permanent stall in a regular meeting place, may help us to understand the growing willingness to address issues of social rank and hierarchy that led Edward IV and Henry VIII to introduce changes to the Order of the Garter. As the existence of testaments such as Jean Le Fevre's account of Sigismund's visit to England confirms, visual information about such ceremonial flowed freely across national boundaries, and through European courts. An ever increasing concern about matters of propriety and hierarchy may go some way towards explaining the 1506 herald's constant observations that Henry VII accorded an equal part in the ceremonial proceedings to Philip of Castile – whereas Henry V ninety years earlier, as sovereign of the order, had not yielded precedence to the Emperor Sigismund. Clearly, in the new Chapel of St George, careful thought came to be paid to the placement of one individual in relation to another, and it is likely that this

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 378.

¹⁹¹ Marche, *Mémoires*, vol. iv., pp. 171-174.

sensitivity may have governed understanding of the way different visual forms were placed in proximity to each other. In Garter ceremonies this suggests that the visual came to be used in a multiplicity of ways to anchor each participant's role in the ritual into an acceptable compromise between reference to tradition, and the newer demands arising as a result of the professionalisation of the process of looking.

* * * *

The accounts of both this herald and the individual responsible for writing about the funeral of Edward IV reveal a number of similarities. Both are deeply concerned with processional order, and the relationship of one individual to another within that order. They are both sensitive to the multi-sensual construction of ceremonies taking place within St George's and manage to recreate rituals in which touch, sight, sound and scent all played a vital role. Their accounts are evocative, but the specific evidence they provide for the artistic treatment of the building, and contemporary understanding of the relationship of the ritual to the architectural space is not as forthcoming as it might be. Nevertheless, it has been possible, on the basis of continental comparisons, and the use of illuminated manuscript sources to posit some suggestions for the way the ceremonies might have appeared, and to potentially identify sources and influences for the adoption of different forms.

Resonances in the relationships between ceremonies may imply the existence of a sophisticated understanding of the way that one visual form corresponded to another within a particular architectural space. This conception may underlie the heralds' minute recording of events, with their focus on the processional axes within the chapel. What is very clear from both accounts is the centrality of the north choir aisle to both rituals. The entrance to the chapter house leads off the north choir aisle, and just to the west of this, on the south side of the aisle, Edward IV chose to situate his tomb. This location was probably chosen on the basis of his understanding about how the chapel would function as a venue for future ceremonial in which some of the greatest English nobles and most esteemed foreign kings and dignitaries, would take part. As each took their place in the annual St George's Day procession, they would pass the striking vision of the stone cadaver partitioned off from the north ambulatory by impressively gilded wrought iron gates, and would be forced to recall the founder of the chapel, Edward IV himself.

That the two ceremonies discussed would have looked very different is clear. The display of heraldic devices – swords, stall plates and banners – in addition to the gold embroidered wall hangings and cushions, would have created a scene of colourful exuberance during the investiture of Philip of Castile. In contrast, the solemn occasion of Edward IV's funeral, with the likely black drapes in the choir, the black altar cloth and the knights of the household wearing mourning attire, would have been a visually more sombre event. Colour in the funerary procession was reserved almost exclusively for elements of the ritual which related directly to Edward IV – the banners at each corner of the chariot and the clothed effigy staring at the majesty cloth. In the context of St George's however, certain features of both ceremonies, such as the visual emphasis on representation of the chivalric, acquire a particular resonance. The hanging of Edward IV's achievements over his tomb replicates the arrangement of hanging helm, crest and sword over the Garter Knights' choir stalls, for example.

Decoration of the space in the old chapel was used to convey a multiplicity of meanings, which could be understood on a number of levels by individuals of differing social status. In the old chapel, the construction of ritual and ceremony, adapted to the space of the building, was used to emphasise the twin obligations of devotion and chivalric duty demanded of the Garter Knights. In restoring the vigour and vitality of the Order of the Garter, Henry V, William Bruges and various Knights of the Garter embraced an understanding of space by which the devotional was expressed in ceremonial rather than imagery that impacted upon the particular space of the Windsor home of the order. A study of projects these individuals initiated elsewhere nevertheless helps to emphasise that their experience of sacred space at Windsor was important, for they took to alternative contexts an understanding of how effectively images could convey meaning in this most prestigious of chapels.

Throughout the fifteenth century, ceremony increasingly came to be ordered, read and visually analysed. In the new chapel, however, what was formerly personal and devotional was now articulated on a much wider stage where matters of public propriety were more closely scrutinised, constructed and accompanying ceremonial correspondingly elaborate. Instead of the careful balance between God and king, found in the early chapel, in the new chapel, the assertion of the individual, particularly Edward IV and his successors, became more intrusive. Examination of different ceremonies reveals that decisions were made about the placement of permanent visual forms, such as Edward IV's and Bray's tombs, or certain decorative features of the choir, on the basis of who would see what, and in what order. A study of ceremonial shows that other objects were also used in the space – books and relics were moved around the building in order to remain visually prominent in the proceedings,

possibly creating different associations with other decorative features of the chapel depending on where they were placed. In many ways, this parallels what would take place during ordinary ceremonies in the chapel – the procession of relics on Relic Sunday or the carrying of banners, such as that of the lion and dragon, on Rogation days and Ascensiontide.¹⁹² Given the detail with which the heralds commented on the two ceremonies discussed above, it is possible that the subtle distinctions between traditional and ceremonial use of these objects was highly charged. The day-to-day treatment of these objects, and the chapel itself, will be considered in the next Chapter.

¹⁹² Roberts, *St George's Chapel*, pp. 92-93.

CHAPTER FOUR

DAILY LIFE AT ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL

It has been observed that the liturgy, properly celebrated and observed, was the most important means medieval individuals had to secure God's grace and the advocacy of saints.¹ The Chapel of St George was provided with a liturgy and structure intended to provoke prayer from college members, Garter Knights, the royal household, and lay visitors, in order to optimise the grace of God, and elicit the maximum intercession and protection of the saints. This Chapter will broaden its focus on audience to consider the experience of space from the perspective of college members and lay visitors (particularly pilgrims) to the chapel. It will focus on how ephemeral visual forms, such as the splendour of its liturgical vestments, the scale and lavishness of possessions (with both relics and liturgical props), the beauty of its music, and the increasingly sophisticated use of space in the Chapel of St George, were the day-to-day means by which the liturgy could be best celebrated to serve both the interests of king and nation. It will emphasise the multi-sensual construction of sacred spaces, and consider the changing use of these spaces according to the progress of the liturgical year. Throughout, I will suggest that consideration of the provision for the ordinary and everyday allows appreciation of how much more effectively the new chapel functioned as a space which could accommodate the wide demands different audiences placed on the chapel. In the light of this, the extent to which the foundation at the end of the sixteenth century diverged from that which had been intended by Edward IV, will be analysed. With the translation of the body of Henry VI to the south choir aisle, a new set of spatial resonances were introduced into the foundation against which the success of Edward IV's understanding of the function of sacred space can be measured.

The Foundation of the College

Given the close ties between the Order of the Garter and the Chapel of St George, it is not possible to understand the relationship between monarchs and the Garter without considering the provisions for the maintenance of the college. It is evident that the main purpose of the college was to act as a spiritual support for the companionship of the Garter by performing masses in the chapel during the annual festivities for the souls of the brethren of

¹ C. Burgess, "St George's College, Windsor: Context and Consequence" in N. Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 67.

the fraternity, both living and dead. St George's received its foundation charter on 6th August 1348, the same day as the royal foundation of St Stephen's. The institutions were complementary but their focus was quite different. From the outset, St Stephen's was to function as a household and family chapel, whereas St George's seems to have been intended to serve as a national shrine and pilgrimage cult centre.² Edward III's gift of the True Cross to St George's Chapel, probably in 1352, suggests that the redemptive power associated with this most precious of relics was central to his intentions for the chapel.³ His observation of the existence of a relic of the Passion at the Paris royal shrine, Sainte Chapelle – the Crown of Thorns – may have prompted this act, hinting at his desire to found a comparably English institution. It is probably no coincidence that the constitution (in terms of personnel) of both St George's and St Stephen's mimicked that of Sainte Chapelle exactly.⁴ Pilgrimage was also encouraged at St Stephen's, where individuals may have been admitted to access the shrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary⁵, suggesting that for Edward III, providing an opportunity for lay individuals to access, witness and receive benefaction in his royal sacred spaces was of interest.

The foundation of the College of St George has been the subject of a number of studies.⁶ It is not proposed to reiterate their work here, but it is necessary to summarise the details surrounding the college's creation by Edward III in 1348. To the existing small staff of eight chaplains, he added a warden and fifteen more, making twenty-four in total. He also added twenty-four poor knights, and a number of other ministers. The college was restructured in November 1352 with the adoption of new statutes, and the issuing of a common seal, showing Edward III kneeling before St George, flanked by the coats of arms of St Edward the Confessor on the right, and St Edmund on the left.⁷ The number of priests and poor knights was increased to twenty-six,⁸ and the clerical side of the establishment was constituted to include a warden and twelve other secular canons, with thirteen priest vicars. Additionally, there were to be six choristers and a verger. Non-residence of canons was penalised until Bishop Beauchamp petitioned for change in 1478: residence involved

² *ibid.*, p. 75.

³ Bond, *Inventories*, plate III, verso.

⁴ R. Bowers, "The Music and Musical Establishment of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Fifteenth Century" in Richmond and Scarff (ed.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, pp. 174-175 and table 1.

⁵ Burgess, "St George's College", p. 75.

⁶ Roberts, *St George's Chapel*; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*; Burgess, "St George's College"; and N. Saul, "Servants of God and Crown: the Canons of St George's Chapel, 1348-1420 in Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel*.

⁷ Statute 43, Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, IV. B.1 ff. 74-84. The seal was used to seal the Statutes themselves.

⁸ *ibid.*

attendance daily for three weeks at the principal canonical services (matins, high mass, vespers and compline) in the chapel, with some obligation in alms and hospitality.⁹

The 1352 statutes directed that “the usage and custom of Psalmody and of repeating or celebrating divine offices, and of ministering in the choir and at the altar... shall be observed in the aforesaid chapel as are kept in the Church of Salisbury.”¹⁰ The day began with the celebration in the choir of matins of Our Lady, perhaps preceded by matins of the dead, and the saying of chantry masses while sufficient numbers of officiants arrived in the church. Matins was followed immediately by lauds, after which the canons and priest vicars would say their own masses. Perhaps around eight or nine o’clock, the college would come together again to sing the masses, one of Our Lady, at which the poor knights were required to be present, and another of the Requiem, following which prime was said in the choir. From the choir, the members of the college processed to the chapter house, where the commemoration of benefactors and of the saints would be read aloud from the Martyrologium, and afterwards terce was said. If the day was a double feast, a procession would be formed to walk around the chapel. The climax of the day’s services was reached with high mass, which was attended by the poor knights and all canons and priest vicars, and was longer on feast days than on ferial days. Then the offices of sext and none were sung. Breakfast would follow and later in the afternoon, vespers and compline would be sung, after which the chapel would be closed and locked for the day.

All services, except the private chantry masses, were sung in the choir. The dean sat in the returned stall on the south side of the choir, but the services were directed by the precentor, who sat in the returned stall on the north side of the chapel. Statute Thirty-seven directed him to order the singing and psalmody in the chapel, and to order the singers concerning who was to begin the psalms on each side of the choir. On Sundays and greater festivals, due to the elaboration of the singing, the precentor was given priest assistants known as the “rulers of the choir”; four on double feasts, and two on Sundays and other feasts. High mass was celebrated on greater days by the dean, and on other days by senior canons. On each Sunday, the priest who celebrated high mass renewed the consecrated Host hanging before the altar in the pyx, and the priest celebrating also checked that the proper numbers of candles were burning on the altar: two on ferial days and feasts of nine lessons; four on lesser doubles, and six on principal feasts. Prayer for the king and the royal family was an integral part of the worship of the chapel. A special collect was said for the king at high mass, and

⁹ Roberts, *St George’s Chapel*, p. 9.

¹⁰ Windsor, *St George’s Chapel Archives* IV.B.I. f.76r. Statute 21. See also Bowers, “Music and Musical Establishment”, p. 172 and Bond, *Inventories*, p. 257.

prayers for Edward III, Bishop Edington (the chancellor who gave the statutes), and the present king, were to be said at every other mass. Yearly the full memorial service of vespers, matins and mass of the dead was said for Edward III, his queen, the Black Prince and Bishop Edington. The Lady mass preceding the mass of requiem and high mass was not sung on days when a festival of Our Lady occurred, as the high mass would be of Our Lady. No mention is made in the statutes of processions, but these were an integral part of medieval worship. It is assumed, according to Statute Twenty-one, that these therefore followed the form of Salisbury. They will be considered below.

The foundation charter Edward III issued to St Stephen's, Westminster, reconstituted it as a collegiate establishment with one dean, twelve secular canons, as many vicars, and other fit servants: a foundation comparable in scale to that at Windsor, but not including the poor knights specific to the latter foundation. The foundation charter is silent on the issue of how the chapel was used, however, it is possible to speculate that the two-storeyed arrangement of St Stephen's provided a place of worship for the court at large in the lower chapel known as St Mary's, and a private space for the royal family above.¹¹ A number of comments in historical accounts confirm that pilgrims were also admitted to the chapel, apparently to a golden statue of the Virgin somewhere in the upper chapel.¹²

At St Stephen's, choir stalls were introduced to seat the canons on the north and south sides of the choir: the king is likely to have taken a seat in the royal closet, which was located at the north end of the passageway connecting the south-east corner of the chapel with the king's apartments. A new pulpitum was built, dividing the choir from the two most westerly bays of the chapel, obscuring the view of the high altar for visitors to the two altars provided in what was now the ante-chapel. This is broadly the kind of arrangement that is likely to have prevailed in the old Chapel of St George (**Plan 1**), but the decoration and use of the space at St Stephen's locked the viewer into a very different kind of visual dialogue than that demanded by St George's Chapel, confirming the difference of intention underlying the two foundations. The nature of the Garter foundation, and the demands of fourteenth-century liturgy, called for a large number of processions through the sacred space of St George's. Comparable liturgical demands would also have been placed on the space at St Stephen's, but there, there was no need to accommodate the ceremonial Garter processions. The predominant decoration in the upper chapel at St Stephen's was made particular to those who were likely to use the space. Murals of two registers showed individual figures. On the lower

¹¹ E. Howe, "Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display: The Altar Wall Murals of St Stephens Chapel, Westminster" in *Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001), p. 261.

¹² *ibid* and Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel*, pp. 72-77.

of these the entire royal family was depicted; on the north side, were the king and his sons, and on the south side, the queen and her daughters. St George, wearing a red-crossed mantle led the procession of figures on the north side, his hand reaching out to physically lead Edward III to the promised salvation implied by viewing the New Testament scenes from the nativity and early life of Christ in the upper register.¹³ This intimate iconographic scheme, witnessed in the main by those closest to the royal family, in which Edward was associated with both St George and the Virgin, would have been viewed from a static viewpoint by the king himself, seated in his closet. Those responsible for the spiritual welfare of the king, on the other hand, would have processed through the space, and engaged visually more widely with the scheme which celebrated the family, and personal patron saints.

At St George's, however, a similarly small space was utilised more fully by a wider stratum of the king's favourites, and the need to charge the iconography with a programme designed to emphasise familial obligation and personal salvation was therefore correspondingly smaller. As they processed through the choir during Garter day celebrations, and paused to make their obeiances before the high altar¹⁴ flanked by the statues of the Virgin and of St George (and after 1367, the great alabaster reredos), the presence of both Garter Knights and canons alongside each other would have emphasised the binding obligations to God, king and country underlying the foundation of the college and order.¹⁵ In this context, the theatricality of procession – moving through a less visually 'programmed' space, in order to come face to face with the patron saints of the order, and perhaps the relic of the True Cross placed on the altar at Easter and during Garter Day ceremonies – offered the potential to interpret spiritual and patriotic duties in a wider sense than those that are likely to have been evoked in the viewer of the closely worked decorative schema of St Stephens.

Ferial and Festal Occasions

It is to the precentor of the chapel that we must turn to gain a feel for the daily rhythm of college life, both in the old chapel and in the new. As the officer responsible for all that concerned the chapel and its services, including singing in the choir, the arrangement of the daily offices, the care of all furniture (such as books, crosses, chalices and vestments) of the chapel, and provision of the necessary items for services, he received and accounted for all

¹³ Howe, "Divine Kingship", p. 278.

¹⁴ See Chapter Three for Garter Ceremonial.

¹⁵ Burgess, "St George's College", pp. 77-79.

offerings made in the chapel, using this income to cover his expenditure.¹⁶ After 1393, when the chapel offerings were granted by Richard II to the residentiaries, the precentor accounted to the treasurer who refunded his expenditure.¹⁷ His income and expenditure have been preserved in a non-continuous series of account rolls in the chapel archive which provide a fascinating insight into the conduct of daily affairs in the building. The following section uses evidence from a selection of the thirty-eight of rolls which survive between 1363 and 1547.¹⁸ These preserve some evidence of monthly incomes donated by visitors to statues and shrines within the chapel, which show varying totals depending on which feasts occurred during that month. Receipts are generally high in April or May, allowing for increased oblations offered at the feast of St George (celebrated on 23rd April, unless that date occurred within fifteen days after Easter, when it was observed on the second Sunday after Easter), and in December or January, depending on which month Christmas receipts were accounted for.¹⁹ Thus the 1457-8 receipts reflect an approximate annual pattern in ranging from 19d in the month of January, through 4s in December to £4 10d in April, with medium average income being around 7s.²⁰ The smaller income around the Christmas period reflects the likely absence of Henry VI and his court from Windsor at Christmas that year.²¹

Certain objects appear to have been deliberately situated at strategic points throughout the chapel. In the old Chapel of St George, a collecting box stood in the chapel at the foot of a statue of St George:²² it is not clear that this was the image of St George which flanked the high altar or whether this was an additional image.²³ The juxtaposition of collecting box and statue clearly links the act of viewing the image with its ability to provoke an individual's charitable obligations. Locating a collecting box in the choir may have been a suitable place from which to receive oblations offered by Knights of the Garter, and members of the royal household who would have had access to the choir, but it is unlikely that lay pilgrims to the chapel, wishing to visit the relics of St George's heart, and the True Cross, would have been

¹⁶ See, for example, Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives XV.56.22. An example of an annual account rendered by the precentor, the roll preserves monthly receipts from oblations, the acknowledgement of moneys received from the college treasurer in reimbursement of the precentor's annual expenses, and the monthly expenditure on items necessary for the conduct of daily life in the chapel itself.

¹⁷ Roberts, *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, p. 80.

¹⁸ Some selected extracts of expenditure on books and vestments have been included in Bond, *Inventories*, and many of these rolls have been looked at by historians interested in a particular aspect of chapel life, for example by Roger Bowers in his study of medieval music in the chapel, but none have been printed in their entirety. I have chosen to focus on particular documents from this series that relate, where possible, to dates of particular importance in the life of the chapel, for example, the 1416 investiture of Sigismund.

¹⁹ Roberts, *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, p. 81.

²⁰ St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.34.

²¹ B. Wolfe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981. Reprinted Yale, 2001). Itinerary p. 371.

²² Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives XV.56.24.

²³ See above, p. 143.

allowed to gain access this far into the inner sanctum of the building. However, it is possible that an alternative receptacle may have been provided for donations by such individuals. In the new Chapel of St George, the siting of relics in the south choir aisle provides clearer evidence of the location of individuals offering donations. Close to the tomb of Henry VI was placed a cast iron offertory box, possibly designed by Tresilian, the smith responsible for the gates of Edward IV's chantry chapel.²⁴ **III. 121**

Appendix Three details the books owned by St George's Chapel between 1384-5 and c.1501. It can be seen from this table that the college owned a large number of service books necessary for the conduct of the daily and holy-day liturgy. This list includes antiphoners, breviaries, legendas, psalters, missals, graduals, epistles, processional, ordinals, gospels, books of collects and versicles. The appendix includes all references to these books found in the annual accounts, indicating when new ones were purchased, or when existing manuscripts were sent for repair and rebinding. These miscellaneous references suggest a number of the service books resided permanently in the church; two clasps and bosses were purchased for an antiphoner that lay "before St Laurence" in 1429 confirming there was an image of St Laurence somewhere in the building.²⁵ Similarly, a breviary "lying before the precentor" (therefore chained in the choir) was bound in the same year. A number of other books (indicated in red in the appendix) were described in the inventories as being chained in the church. Of an apparently reasonable selection of volumes such as *The Golden Legend* and *The Gregorian Dialogue*, one stands out as being a strange choice – "Two French books of Romances including the Book of the Rose".²⁶ I have not come across another comparable example, and it is possible that the chivalric allegiances framing an individual's membership of the Order of the Garter made such an inclusion appropriate, suggesting that this book may have been viewed *in situ* by Garter Knights visiting the chapel. The profane subject matter of this work was evidently not out of place in this sacred space; its sometimes lewd content perhaps reflects the accommodation of other profane material within sacred spaces, such as images found on misericords. There is no evidence regarding whether this book was also chained in Edward IV's chapel.

It seems, however, that the majority of books in the college's possession were for the use of canons and priests. Of the various service books, the largest number of a single "type" owned by the college was of breviaries (twelve in 1384-5, ten in 1410), followed by processional (eleven in 1384, ten in 1410), graduals (ten in 1384, and 1410, but four

²⁴ Geddes, *Ironwork*, p. 264 and p. 386.

²⁵ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives: XV.56.28.

²⁶ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 127.

additional ones acquired in 1415-16) and antiphoners (five in 1384 and 1410, with four further ones acquired in 1415-16). As the essential book for the recitation of prayers at the eight canonical hours, the large number of breviaries is unsurprising. Processionals, containing all the texts and music for use in processions; graduals containing the prayers cited by lectors, cantors and the choir during mass; and antiphoners, containing all the texts and music for the antiphons sung before each psalm during the mass, were obviously also essential for the conduct of the daily liturgy. Although a number of books associated with St George's Chapel survive in the Bodleian library, these sadly do not include service books.²⁷

Volumes of processionals most likely contained rubrics specific to the Chapel of St George at Windsor, detailing processional forms and routes appropriate for the chapel. Consideration of these may help to elucidate how the space was used, demonstrating how outlying areas and altars were integrated seasonally into the wider sacred space of the chapel, and why objects and images were placed in the locations that they were. Although a study of the surviving Sarum processionals has yielded significant knowledge about the precise routes taken around Salisbury Cathedral,²⁸ these cannot be simply re-applied to St George's. In 1432, John Kempe, archbishop of York and lord chancellor, in his visitation injunctions observed that the canons were sometimes failing to keep to Sarum use,²⁹ but he also noted that Sarum Use could be modified "*secundum loci congruenciam et exigenciam personarum*".³⁰ This makes it difficult to ascertain for certain where precisely processional routes may have run through the chapel, for the existence of different altars at Salisbury, and a cloister located towards the south-west of the church, rather than the north-east as found at Windsor, meant that many instructions may not have been practical for processions at Windsor.

Some simple processions may have followed Salisbury exactly including the weekly Sunday procession, which exited the choir through the north door, went around the presbytery, down the south aisle of the church and returned up the central nave aisle to the rood, where a processional chant would have been sung.³¹ Processions on Ash Wednesday, directly from the choir to the west portal to eject penitents from the church at the start of Lent, and on Maundy Thursday, to reconcile penitents at the church door, could also have followed

²⁷ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London, 2nd edition, 1964), pp. 202-204.

²⁸ T. Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 12-27.

²⁹ This most likely refers to their failure to keep up to date with changes taking place at Salisbury, rather than their following of any alternative use. The college statutes stipulated that changes had to be incorporated into service books at St Georges' within three years of their introduction at Salisbury.

³⁰ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 263.

³¹ Bailey, *Processions*, p. 14.

Salisbury.³² Similarly, a cross, perhaps the Cross Gneth, is likely to have taken through the west door of the choir on Good Friday, and shown to people in the nave, before the procession retreated back into the choir.³³ Other processions which closely adhered to Sarum custom are likely to have been made to the font at vespers on Easter Sunday and the five days following, and on the vigil of Pentecost, leaving the choir through the south door, and returning up the centre of the nave.³⁴ It would also have been possible to tie the Easter Sunday procession, where members of the choir collected a cross from the Easter Sepulchre before leaving the choir through the south door, re-entering through the west door, and then leaving again through the north door to say a versicle and prayer at the altar on the north side (perhaps that of Edward IV's chantry chapel in the new chapel), closely to that of Salisbury. On Easter Sunday, the processional chant at the rood step was sung from the pulpitum, at Salisbury by three senior clerks in silk copes.³⁵ A book of versicles of the graduals and alleluias was chained in the pulpitum of the old Chapel of St George, presumably for this purpose.³⁶

It is impossible to ascertain whether more complicated rituals that took place at Ascensiontide and Corpus Christi, for example, both of which followed the same route at Salisbury – out of the west door of choir and church, around the outside of the entire building, around the cloister, back into the west door of the church, and finishing at the rood – were aped at St George's precisely.³⁷ Here instead, we must posit the most sensible solution; the procession may have operated in reverse at St George's. When the new structure was complete, the procession may have left by the west door of the church, before going along its south side, around the east end then the cloister, perhaps re-entering through the north-east door of the north choir aisle, continuing along the north choir aisle, out of the north transept door, and around to the west end, before returning up the central aisle, pausing to make a station at the rood. Similarly, processions to individual altars to celebrate the feast day of the dedication saint of that altar, must have been dependant on the particular saints and locations of such altars at Windsor. In the new Chapel of St George, the high altar was dedicated to Our Lady and St George. In the nave there were at least two further altars, possibly placed against the pulpitum by analogy with the practice in the old chapel.³⁸ The inventories include a reference to an altar of the Holy Cross, possibly connected with the inscription commemorating the Holy Cross found in the south choir aisle, and located against the east

³² *ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁴ St George's certainly had one font at this stage, and most likely had two. P. T. Craig, "The Fonts of St George's Chapel" in Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel*, pp. 151-164.

³⁵ Bailey, *Processions*, p. 14

³⁶ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 33.

³⁷ Bailey, *Processions*, p. 17.

³⁸ See above, p. 7.

wall at the end of that aisle.³⁹ **III. 18** They also mention an altar dedicated to All Saints, which may have been associated with the Schorn chapel at the east of the south side of the choir. **III. 16** A later altar, created at the shrine of Henry VI in the south choir aisle, became known as “King Henry’s auter”.⁴⁰ Of the chantry altars, the dedications of Anne, duchess of Exeter in the north transept, of Edward IV, of Sir John Donne, and of Sir Reynold Bray remain uncertain. Hastings’ was dedicated to St Stephen; the bishop of Bath and Wells, Oliver King’s, contained a statue of St George,⁴¹ although the chapel was dedicated to St Saviour.⁴² In April 1507, Christopher Urswick renamed the north-west chapel in the nave with the English dedication of “the chapel of the salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary”.⁴³ Perhaps an image such as “The Salutation of oure Lady stondyng upon a fote all gylt with a lyly pott in the myddst of byrall” described in the 1534 inventory, may have been situated there.⁴⁴ A chantry founded by Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert of Gower was founded in the opposite altar on the south side of the nave, which according to the 1534 inventory contained a statue of Our Lady, suggesting this chapel may also have been dedicated to the Virgin.⁴⁵ John Oxenbridge’s chantry chapel, founded in 1522 in the south choir aisle, may have been dedicated to St John the Baptist, as the walls are decorated with scenes from his life.

Processions frequently involved the bearing of banners, books and relics around the church, depending on the nature of the feast being celebrated. For the weekly Sunday procession, preceded by the blessing of salt and water and the asperging of the high altar, it was expected that the sub-deacon should carry a text of the gospel, tapers, a cross, both salt and water, and the relevant service book. The rich holdings of the old and new chapels provided many possibilities from which any of these objects could be chosen. The favoured gospel may have been the old text with silver covers,⁴⁶ possibly the same one surviving in 1501 “with a red velvet and silver gilt cover, with figures of Christ, the Evangelists and St George”.⁴⁷

³⁹ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 272.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 179.

⁴¹ In 1522-3 a certain “Hayn” was paid for washing the statue there. Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archives, XV.56.36.

⁴² See above, p. 152.

⁴³ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 456.

⁴⁴ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 171.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 149. This may have been the same one used at the investiture of Philip of Castile, see above, Chapter Three.

For the ceremonies of Rogationtide and Ascensiontide, reliquaries and banners were carried, including the banner of the dragon and the lion.⁴⁸ These are mentioned in the inventories along with a “wooden shrine” specifically used for Rogation days.⁴⁹ Payments occur in the account for 1457-8 to individuals for carrying the banners,⁵⁰ and in the accounts for 1522-3 for carrying “the lion and the dragon” on Rogation Day and Ascensiontide.⁵¹ For that on Palm Sunday, a reliquary was carried which was held aloft at the west door of the chapel; people returning to the building had to pass underneath it.⁵² Finally, the Sunday following the feast of the Translation of Thomas the Martyr was set aside as the feast of Relics, a principal double feast with a procession.⁵³ In his *Book of Martyrs*, Foxe recorded a procession on relic Sunday at St George’s. His commentary suggests that every minister would have “borne a relic in his hand about a procession,” and he described how the verger “came down from the high altar with St George’s dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a relic”.⁵⁴ The author does not, however, say anything further about the nature of the procession through the space of the chapel. In the old chapel, many of the relics were housed in the alabaster reredos, including such objects as the Cross Gneith, a relic of the milk of the Blessed Virgin Mary, two thorns of the crown of thorns, and part of the skull of St Bartholomew. Some jewels and relics were described as “always standing on the high altar, outside the table” in both the 1384 and the 1410 inventories.⁵⁵ It is not clear where these were situated in the new chapel, for the greatly reduced number of relics mentioned in the 1501 inventory appear as free-standing objects.⁵⁶ The rolls record the functional preparations undertaken for this celebration, including payments to men for washing the relics, and for the wine in which they were washed.⁵⁷

This evidence brings a snap-shot of daily life in the chapel, on both ordinary and ceremonial occasions. It indicates how the space was used, and reinforces the contention that underlying Edward IV’s decision to build a new chapel was the growing inadequacy of the smaller former chapel to accommodate sophisticated processions and ceremonies. It also draws to our attention the reason for a number of physical features of the church. The

⁴⁸ Bailey, *Processions*, p. 25

⁴⁹ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 83 and p. 75.

⁵⁰ Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archives, XV.56.34.

⁵¹ Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archives, XV.56.36

⁵² Bond, *Inventories*, p. 282

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 283.

⁵⁴ Foxe, *Book of Martyrs*, p. 263.

⁵⁵ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 57 and p. 112. A closer analysis of the attraction to pilgrims of the college relics will be offered below.

⁵⁶ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 149.

⁵⁷ Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archives, XV.56.22

proximity of Edward IV's tomb to the Easter Sepulchre has already been commented on,⁵⁸ but a study of the processional routes of the chapel indicates that his altar may have played a more pertinent role in the celebration of the Easter liturgy than hitherto thought. Likewise, referring to the order of proceedings at Salisbury, where there was a procession to the altar of St Stephen during Christmas week, suggests that Lord Hastings' altar may have been integrated into the building as a whole to a greater extent than its chantry status suggests. At Windsor, this procession would have presumably left the choir by its west door before entering the north transept in order to reach Hastings' chantry. During the singing, according to Sarum instructions, the priest was to cense first the altar, and then the image of St Stephen.⁵⁹ It is clear that the hierarchy of days in the medieval liturgical calendar could be expressed visually and aurally by routing the participants of liturgical celebration in specific directions, and by chanting particular antiphons, versicles and responses according to the occasion. During these ceremonies engagement with appropriate images and prompts would have been heightened – be they an image of St Stephen in Hastings' chantry, a pyx containing the body of Christ during Corpus Christi, or a reliquary held aloft at the church door on Palm Sunday – as participants came to focus on them more closely than usual. As the seasons came and went, this yearly cycle integrated even outlying areas of the chapel into the liturgy, spreading sanctity from the choir to the chantry chapels in its aisles, and the general altars in the nave.

It is also evident that utilising the entire chapel space on occasions which demanded different processional routes would have meant that objects and images were viewed in a different order. Thus in the new chapel, participants of the weekly procession though the north choir door and around the presbytery would have seen firstly, Edward IV's tomb, **III. 5** before coming face to face with the old doors of Henry III's chapel, **III. 4** the altar of the Holy Cross and the Cross Gneth, the shrine of John Schorn **III. 16** and the altars of All Saints and Henry VI, **III. 122** followed by the chantries of John Oxenbridge **III. 123** and Oliver King. **III. 124** They would have left the choir aisle adjacent to Bray's chantry, **III. 25 and 86** and returned under the pulpitum to their seats. When leaving through the south door, (for example, at vespers on the days following Easter), they would have focussed on the south aisle relics and tombs, before viewing the rood from the vantage point of the west end of the church. When leaving the choir, participants would have stepped down a level into choir aisles; another step and gate divided aisle from the lofty, open space of the nave. When involved in ceremonies, participants therefore crossed boundaries that were physically delineated within the fabric of the building. That traversing through gradations of sacredness was an implicit concern of the structure of ritual is made explicit when considering those such

⁵⁸ See above, Chapter One, p. 45.

⁵⁹ Bailey, *Processions*, p. 18.

as the Ash Wednesday ejection ceremonies, and Maundy Thursday reconciliation ceremonies. On these two occasions, the boundary of the church door, representing a division between sacred and profane, was used to clearly articulate a line across which only the faithful could rightfully step.

The question of how a balance was obtained between displays of secular worldliness and sacred propriety on the most significant of the St George's Chapel processions – the 23rd April Garter celebration of St George's feast – calls for some consideration. The participation of king and knight alongside canon and priest in this ceremony could potentially have blurred boundaries distinguishing sacred from profane rituals. As the college was founded to provide for the Christian welfare of the Garter Knights, however, provision for this occasion was built into ceremonial constructs from the outset. Edward III had intended that the twenty-six "poor knights" should represent their courtly counterparts on ordinary occasions: a provision both practical and charitable. It is unlikely that anything approaching this number of poor knights was ever maintained by the college.⁶⁰ When Edward III founded the order, some modifications were made to the old chapel including the building of choir stalls sufficient to accommodate the enlarged college; we do not know exactly how these were arranged. In the new chapel of Edward IV, however, the choir was designed to accommodate both Garter Knight and college canon in the upper tier of the stalls during this particular ceremony. **III. 125** Four returned stalls, and twenty-one original stalls along each side of the choir, made a total of forty-six.⁶¹ This provided space for twelve Garter Knights to sit on each side of the church, interspersed with a canon; the king, and dean sat in the returned stalls to the south, with the prince of Wales and precentor in those on the north side. In theory, some of the twenty-six ecclesiastical members of the college have been displaced to a lower tier of stalls for the Garter day ceremony. In practice, however, it is unlikely that they were all in residence at one particular time.⁶² This practice was altered by Henry VIII's statutes, when the prebends were moved to sit in the lower tier of choir stalls.⁶³

Sarum custom indicated that the feast day of the dedication saint of a church was to be celebrated by a procession.⁶⁴ After its elevation to a greater double feast by Henry V, following the battle of Agincourt (1415), the procession at St George's would have followed that prescribed for other double feasts. This altered slightly from the usual Dominical procession, as it left the choir through the west door and included the cloister. Other altars in

⁶⁰ Roberts, *St George's Chapel, Windsor*, p. 11.

⁶¹ Two extra stalls on each side were added in 1786. Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 432.

⁶² Saul, "Servants of God and Crown", pp. 97-117.

⁶³ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 538.

⁶⁴ Bailey, *Processions*, p. 12.

the chapel were not sprinkled with holy water on this occasion, and its different status was further emphasised by the wearing of more richly decorated copes and albs by the participants,⁶⁵ and the carrying of three crosses, and two gospels, instead of the usual one of each.⁶⁶ The 1534 inventory describes one of these crosses as “a great cross for the hye awter in princypal feasts and for the obetts of Greate men”.⁶⁷ However, the article of a version of the statutes amended by Henry V, which prorogued the feast of St George to a later date if it fell within fifteen days of Easter, raises some confusion over precisely how this feast may be celebrated in such circumstances, for it does not make clear whether the entire feast was to be postponed, or whether the liturgical celebration was to take place, while the Garter celebration was delayed.⁶⁸ Ashmole suggests that in the 22nd year of Henry VIII’s reign, 1530-31, when Easter fell on the 9th April, the feast day of the saint was duly observed at St George’s on the 23rd April, with its “eve and morrow after”, but the celebration of the Grand Feast was deferred until the 8th May.⁶⁹ This implies some distinction was drawn between the liturgical commemoration of the feast on the 23rd April, and the celebration of high mass, with its Grand Procession on or thereafter, attended by the Garter Knights in honour of St George. During the Garter celebrations on the main day of the feast (the second), the morning mass being sung in the choir was halted temporarily in order that the Grand Procession of king, knights and canons might take place. The statutes do not indicate precisely when this occurred; Ashmole suggests it took place when “it was conceived most proper”, which was generally at the end of the second collect and before the litany.⁷⁰ Sometimes this procession was confined within the walls of the chapel, but at other times it took in the lower ward of the castle too.⁷¹ The alms knights led the procession, followed by the officers of arms, and then the Knights of the Garter; after them followed the officers of the order and then the prelate bearing the heart of St George, under a canopy; four noblemen followed carrying a torch, and finally the sovereign. Although the ecclesiastics were not mentioned in the proceedings, it is likely that, as part of the divine service was to be performed, some of the chaplains and priests were included. This procession of primarily lay participants was a replication of the liturgical ceremonial format, and was sanctified by proximity to one of the chapel’s primary relics, the heart of St George. Visually splendid, and symbolically akin to a liturgical procession, this represents a crystallisation of the secular and the sacred basis of the Order of the Garter, around its twin focus of God and king.

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 207-212.

⁶⁶ Bailey, *Processions*, p. 14

⁶⁷ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 170.

⁶⁸ Jefferson, “MS Arundel”. Statutes translated and printed pp. 376-385.

⁶⁹ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 472.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 563.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

Thus, although the college was initially re-founded to complement the Order of the Garter, in time, it developed its own distinctive role, which used the space of the chapel in ways common to other liturgical foundations, but independent of the spatial requirements the order placed on the building. Indeed, with the college in existence three hundred and sixty five days of the year, but the Garter only meeting at Windsor for three, the daily structures created by the college canons arguably carried greater impact on the design of the new foundation than the need to accommodate Garter Knights, for college spaces could be conveniently appropriated by the Garter Knights for their annual ceremony. Thus the canons' chapter house became the location for the order's meeting prior to the ceremony of vespers on the eve of the feast, where Garter business would be discussed, just as the canons may have recited the litany and conducted college business there following the saying of prime in the chapel earlier in the day.⁷² On Garter Day ceremonies, when the Grand Procession mimicked many a liturgical procession that had taken place throughout the year, in both route and in the grandeur of its participants, such associations were made explicit. The analogy suggested by the seating arrangements in the choir – where the division into twelve with a leader on both north and south sides suggests a likely symbolic relationship between Edward III and his knights, or the dean / precentor and his canons, with Christ and the twelve apostles, is revealing. It intimates how the twin institutions of order and college were complementary, and shows the ways in which, in architectural terms, the needs of one group could be mapped onto those of the other. Alongside changes to ceremonial rituals of the order itself, such as the custom of paying respects firstly to the altar, and only latterly to the king, introduced by Henry V, this implies that the logical division of space in the chapel privileged first and foremost the spiritual above the chivalric.⁷³

The Knights of the Garter met four times in the chapel during the celebrations of its feast: firstly, at vespers on the eve of the feast, secondly for high mass on the feast day itself, thirdly for vespers on the feast day, and finally for the requiem mass on the morrow of the feast. The canons would certainly have taken an active role in preparing the chapel in anticipation of the feast. The precentors' rolls consistently show a higher level of expenditure in February, March, April and sometimes May, on mending vestments, books and relics, than they do for the other months of the year. In preparation for the visit of Sigismund in 1416, Lady Grymesby was in much demand for her skills in mending orphreys, copes, albs, amices and altar cloths, as well as making new vestments for the priests and the choir boys, from both linen cloth of Flanders and unworked Flemish cloth.⁷⁴ In May, immediately prior to the feast,

⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 520-521 and above p. 193.

⁷³ See above, Chapter Three, p. 134.

⁷⁴ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.22.

necessary items for mending the alabaster table were purchased for 8d.⁷⁵ Frequently, the statues in the chapel were washed, most likely in anticipation of the feast. The roll for 1522-3 records payments to “Hayn” for washing the statues of St George, both the one in the choir and the other in the chapel of the bishop of Bath. John Constable was paid for washing the lectern.⁷⁶ The precentor also arranged for the chapel bells to be rung on the feast.⁷⁷ Ashmole describes the chapel being adorned with rich furniture and the “altar, by the Gift of Pious Benefactors, was adorned with Vessels, sumptuous both for their materials and workmanship”.⁷⁸ The chapel inventories confirm the gifts of “pious benefactors,” and provide plenty of evidence for the richness of materials available. The illustration of the Order of the Garter ceremony in the *Black Book of the Order of the Garter*, however, shows the altar dressed simply with two candles and a gospel – the decoration stipulated for the ferial or usual Sunday ceremony of the mass, and common to many illustrations of late medieval altars.⁷⁹ It is likely that Ashmole’s assertion refers to the siting of objects of precious value in close proximity to the altar, a custom confirmed by an early entry in the inventories (1384) for “jocalia et relique semper stantes super summum altarium extra tabulam”.⁸⁰ It has been observed that the usual practice was to build a special step or ledge for relics to be permanently displayed. This was almost certainly the reason for the construction of a shelf in the old chapel, behind the high altar, in 1429.⁸¹

The statutes are vague on the precise role of the canons during the Garter Feast of St George, being, of their nature, concerned with the duties demanded of the Garter Knights, but it is clear that their involvement must have been paramount, for they were to lead the singing of the office, of the mass, and of the mass of requiem.⁸² The precentor is still likely to have led the singing of the liturgy from his situation in the stall on the north side of the chapel. The illustrated procession in the *Black Book* shows, at the very forefront of the procession, a crucifer in a gold cope standing before the altar. **III. 115** He is flanked by two figures in short, black copes, probably sacristans, who make their obeiances at the altar prior to the Garter Knights. This would seem to suggest that it was equally important on this occasion that they moved through the space in an appropriate manner as the Garter Knights. They were habited for the occasion, the canons wearing a mantle of murrey taffeta over their usual linen surplices, embroidered with a roundlet containing the arms of St George. Ashmole suggests

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁶ Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archives, XV.56.36.

⁷⁷ Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archives, XV.56.34 and XV.56.36

⁷⁸ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 490.

⁷⁹ See above, Chapter Two, p. 75.

⁸⁰ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 50.

⁸¹ See above, Introduction, p. 6.

⁸² Jefferson, “MS Arundel”, p. 379. Statute 17.

that this was bought at their own charge.⁸³ It may be these roundlets that are referred to in the accounts for 1457-8, “Et solutum pro vi rowndelets pro choro emptis London cum cariagio x d,”⁸⁴ although this would seem a small sum for embroidered work and does appear to refer to the space of the choir itself rather than the canons. The petty canons and vicars were to wear habits “more glorious, being all (or for the most part of them) vested in rich Copes of Cloth of Gold, or most costly Embroideries”.⁸⁵ This richness of costume would have added to the general lustre of the occasion, and confirms the canons rightful, and integral, part within the ceremonies themselves.

Embellishing the Space:

Costume and Textile

Costume was a means by which the dignity of an occasion could be symbolically defined, and the rich holdings of both the old and new Chapels of St George suggest it was utilised to the full in these royal chapels. The rubrics of the missal, and the injunction of bishops, required that the altar be covered with a series of textile hangings before mass was said.⁸⁶ The front of the altar was usually covered with a frontal subdivided into panels by orphreys – applied strips of fabric often decorated with embroidery – while the vestments worn by the ministers had gradually evolved over time to fulfil the particular demands of the liturgy. At high mass, all the ministers and their attendants wore a cassock, amice and an alb as under-attire. Three additional vestments were worn over these – the stole, maniple and chasuble. The central strip of the chasuble was usually covered by an orphrey. Both the back and front of these garments were highly decorated for a priest’s back would be viewed when elevating the host at the altar. In the St George’s inventories, a full set of vestments is taken to include the garments worn by the ministers of the choir, the coverings for the altar, and any necessary additional curtains.

The use of five colours in the liturgy – white, red, green, violet and black was formally regulated by Pius V (pope 1566-72).⁸⁷ Although the earlier Sarum sequence of colours was very ill-defined, it is likely that his stipulations were based on earlier practice. Details of former customs are given in the manuscripts which define the “Consuetudinary” of

⁸³ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 574.

⁸⁴ Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archives XV.56.34

⁸⁵ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 574.

⁸⁶ A. B. Barton, “The ornaments of the altar and the ministers in late-medieval England” in P.S. Barnwell, C. Cross and A. Rycroft (ed.), *Mass and Parish in Medieval England: The Use of York* (2005), p. 31.

⁸⁷ *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* at <http://www.newadvent.org>, “liturgical colours”.

Sarum Cathedral (dating from c. 1220 to the early part of the fourteenth century,⁸⁸) and the “Customary” of the cathedral (dating from the late fourteenth to the fifteenth century.⁸⁹) Although these manuscripts do not always correspond, there is some general agreement that white copes were to be worn for Easter, the Annunciation and its octave, from the octave of the Assumption to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the feast of St Michael, for the feasts of Virgin Martyrs, for the feast and octave of the feast of the dedication saint of the particular church, for the feasts of St Mary Magdalene and St John the Evangelist and for Nativity Week, the Circumcision and the Purification.⁹⁰ Red copes were to be worn on Sundays outside of Easter, for all feasts of the Holy Cross, and for all feasts of Martyrs, Apostles and Evangelists. A further manuscript indicates that red copes should also be worn for days of secondary importance following the main feasts of Christmas and Easter, for example the feast of St Stephen and of the Holy Innocents.⁹¹ Black was to be worn for requiem masses.⁹² One manuscript indicates that yellow should be worn for the feasts of confessor saints,⁹³ while another suggests quite different practices – the wearing of robes of “mixed colours” for the main feasts of Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, the Dedication of All Saints and Christmas, and robes decorated with stars for the feasts of the Nativity and Epiphany, and stripes for those of Easter and Whitsun.⁹⁴ The extent to which these practices were scrupulously observed must have varied widely from church to church, for in many parish churches, funds are most likely to have only allowed for an ordinary set of vestments for usual days, and a finer set, whatever their colour, for festal usage.⁹⁵ The stipulations peculiar to the Corpus Christi Customary perhaps reflect actual practice, in which coloured and decorated robes were examples of the “finer” vestments worn for major feast days. This suggestion is endorsed by a Dominican Missal, which expressly laid down that on solemn days the most precious vestments be used irrespective of their hue.⁹⁶

For a church as richly favoured as St George’s, however, the surviving inventories indicate a wide range of garments, of varying degrees of fineness, in a number of colours. Many of these are decorated with coats of arms of former Knights of the Garter, or court

⁸⁸ W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum: I. The Sarum Customs as Set Forth in the Consuetudinary and Customary* (Cambridge, 1898), pp. xlv.-liii.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. lvi. - lviii.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 102.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 27.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 26, n. c. Text based on Corpus Christi MS 44, a Sarum Customary of the late fourteenth century.

⁹⁵ In a foundation as important as Durham Cathedral, the high altar only had two sets of frontals, one for daily use “of red velvet wrought with great flowers of gold in embroidered work” the other, for principal feasts “of white damask all best with pearl and precious stones”. Barton, “Ornaments of the Altar,” p. 40.

⁹⁶ *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* at <http://www.newadvent.org>, “liturgical colours”.

aides, suggesting that their collection of rich liturgical cloths and vestments was realised as a result of bequests and gifts by those with links to the church, or attracted by its dedication to Our Lady and St George.⁹⁷ Already by 1384, the inventory describes the vestments owned by the old chapel, which covered the full range of colours ideally required by the Sarum rite. Additional commentary describes many of these in detail and allows for some reconstruction of which particular colours and vestments were worn for which occasions. Sometimes a contemporary assessment of their value along the lines of “good” or “badly worn” is given.

No monetary values are included in the inventory, but the section dedicated to altar vestments begins with a full set of “Red vestments of velvet woven with figures powdered with pearls”.⁹⁸ As this is the only object which appears to be decorated with pearls, it seems likely that the textiles appear in the inventory in approximate order of value. The text goes on to describe a further seven red, five blue, one purple, four white, one blue-green and two black vestments. Five other sets are of unidentified colours, making a total of twenty-seven sets – a huge number by any medieval church’s standards.⁹⁹ There are no instructions given for the use of the first red vestment, but one “good white vestment of cloth-of-gold” is described as for the principal feasts of the Blessed Mary,¹⁰⁰ while another “white vestment of cammock” is for the commemoration of the Blessed Mary. A white vestment of cammock was also to be used on ferial days, a vestment of white cloth for Lent, and a further set of hangings was for the daily masses of the Blessed Mary. This latter set had been given to the church of Wraybury.¹⁰¹ This suggests that there was some adherence to Sarum custom as white was clearly used for the principal feasts of the Virgin. Another red vestment of cloth of gold “powdered with various birds” was used when Joan, countess of Kent, was married (probably to her second husband, Edward, prince of Wales as she is described as the “lady Princess”). The large number of red vestments, some evidently of extreme beauty, such as the garment of red cloth of gold with archangels, probably reflects the Sarum instructions that these be used for many occasions throughout the Christian year – Sundays, and the feasts of Martyrs, Apostles, the Holy Cross and the Evangelists. A blue-green vestment was to be used for the

⁹⁷ For example, Bond, *Inventories* p. 47 describes a cope of red velvet donated by Henry, duke of Lancaster and one of black velvet, (probably for his requiem masses) donated by the earl of Warwick and embroidered with his badge of silver ragged staves.

⁹⁸ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 39. The following section of the inventory, describing copes owned by the chapel, similarly begins with an item decorated with “various figures and leopards heads worked in pearls”.

⁹⁹ This is just for the full or nearly-full sets of vestments (there are indications that some parts of some sets may have been stolen or were damaged) including a full set of mass vestments for priest, deacon and sub-deacon, with copes and hangings for the altar.

¹⁰⁰ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 41.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

feasts of Confessors,¹⁰² rather than the yellow garment stipulated in the Sarum Consuetudinary. A black vestment was used for the vigils of the dead.¹⁰³ There is also evidence that the instructions peculiar to the Corpus Christi manuscript may have been adhered to, for the chapel owned one “striped vestment of red velvet and cloth of gold”¹⁰⁴ and “two red vestments with decorated and embroidered stars and eagles, the gift of the lord Prince, for the two altars in the nave of the church”.¹⁰⁵ It should be noted, that unlike the proscription in the manuscript, the inventory does *not* in this instance indicate that these were for particular feasts. However cloths of cloth of gold, one striped with red and blue colours, and another of blue silk, striped and powdered with various birds and flowers, were used for covering the Sepulchre of the Lord.¹⁰⁶

The 1501 inventory focuses on the richly embroidered copes, rather than classifying the textiles by sets of vestments. This change of focus is of interest. As copes were the outer-garment worn by ministers of the altar for processions, choir offices and other occasional services (as opposed to the more commonly used chasuble), this may suggest an increased emphasis on the ritual / processional activities in the life of the chapel than had existed in 1384. Many copes, however, had matching sets of chasuble, dalmatic, tunicle and other necessary vestments. The chapel still owned at least thirty-five, and probably forty-one, red copes.¹⁰⁷ Of these, twenty-one are described as “old”, and it may be possible to identify several of these as similar to those described in the 1384 inventory. The “three old red copes, embroidered with golden leaves and birds, with chasuble, dalmatic, tunicle and other vestments belonging to them”¹⁰⁸ match the red vestment of cloth of gold in which Joan, countess of Kent was married.¹⁰⁹ The remaining examples are not described as old, and on one occasion – that of the “cope of velvet...embroidered with golden flowers” – are described as new. It may be possible to infer, therefore, that these had come into the chapel’s possession over the course of the fifteenth century and that the college was still accumulating such examples until times very recent to 1501. Although usage is not specified for most of these items, one entry indicates that two red chasubles were reserved for the altar of the Holy Cross, one decorated with flowers, and another with the arms of St George, in line with the

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 41

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ As the classification is now according to copes, rather than full sets of vestments, and many sets of vestments in the 1384 included more than one cope, this figure for the number of copes should be compared against that of 32 in 1384. The maximum figure is based on the assumption that the term “eiusdem coloris” refers to the preceding entry in the inventory in which the colour red is mentioned.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁹ See above, p. 209.

Sarum dictum that red should be used for all celebrations of the Holy Cross. Second most popular were white vestments, mainly copes, the chapel owning eighteen, fourteen of which were described as “old,” and the third most numerous colour was blue, the chapel owning twelve, only two of which were described as old.¹¹⁰ One “old cope of velvet of blue colour with green trees and stags” is probably the same cope mentioned in the 1384 inventory as having been the gift of Nicholas Sarnfield K.G.¹¹¹ Similar to the 1384 inventory, the chapel also owned striped sets of vestments this time used to decorate the altars in the nave of the church described as “partly of red velvet and partly of blue velvet” or “partly of velvet of varied colour”.¹¹² Finally, as in 1384, the chapel owned a few violet textiles, “three copes of purple velvet, embroidered with certain flowers”¹¹³ and several black vestments, including those for Edward IV’s chantry chapel: four ornaments of black velvet, two embroidered with a white rose, and two decorated with gold, and a black chasuble with golden edges, with other necessary vestments for them.¹¹⁴ A “black golden ornament” for the high altar was also owned, which could have been used for the annual Garter requiem mass.

This brief quantitative survey of the textiles described in the inventory suggests broad correlation to the customary colour usage found Salisbury and indicates that this remained largely constant throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even the provision that newer garments should be used for important ceremonies and older vestments for everyday ceremonies seems to have been adhered to, for the final entry in the 1501 inventory simply mentions “other old daily vestments both for the choristers and the outside altars, some of them worked with serpents”.¹¹⁵ However, while a useful exercise, this statistical approach obscures the evident beauty, and ritual interest of many of these garments, which the inventories bring alive. Through embroidery, the opportunity for the cope to be revealed as a liturgical object of real significance was made manifest.¹¹⁶ In the liturgy of the medieval mass, this luxury item acted as a beacon of light, drawing the faithful into the celebration through the presentation of intelligible visual information to the audience. The beauty of the embroidered cope had the power to imbue events with the required solemnity and splendour, and affirmed throughout the sacred space of the church, the awe-inspiring dignity of the

¹¹⁰ This compares to nine white copes, a number of vestments in which copes are not included, and a number of chasubles, and eight blue copes, plus additional vestments, cloths and chasubles described in the 1384 inventory.

¹¹¹ Cf. Bond, *Inventories*, p. 98 and p. 153.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 157. In 1384, the altars in the nave of the church were dressed with red vestments decorated with embroidered stars and eagles.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 153. Cf. 1384, p. 41. “One vestment of purple coloured velvet embroidered with decorated bosses...with three copes of the same suit”.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 157.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 159.

¹¹⁶ C. Linell, “*Opus Anglicanum: Copes as Liturgical Show-Pieces*” in *Inferno: St Andrews’ Journal of Art History* (1995), p. 7.

wearer, who had the power to bring the onlooker closer to God. The description of the Windsor cope belonging to the set of red vestments, “woven with figures and powdered with pearls” with which this discussion opened, suggests an object similar in appearance to the Butler-Bowdon cope, probably made in London between 1330 and 1350, and now belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum. **III. 126** This garment of red velvet, was probably at one time also decorated with pearls. The silver, and silver-gilt and silk threads, in split and satin stitches showing scenes from the life of the Virgin, with apostles and saints, have survived where the pearls have not. Each figure is set in an enclosing branch-like architectural structure from which acorns sprout. The fringe of the cope is decorated with small flowers.

If Appendix Four is used for reference, it is apparent that the chapel had increased its holding of richly embroidered vestments over the preceding 120 years, but interestingly, the approximate ratio of colours had remained the same. However, significant changes in the nature of decoration applied to these luxury textiles took place between 1384 and 1501. By 1501, stars, as a form of decoration had disappeared completely, and mythical beasts were uncommon. Birds were less frequently used, but animals slightly more so. Personal devices, such as the ragged staves of the earl of Warwick in the 1384 inventory, no longer appear. Instead they are now confined to those of the royal family – the white roses of Edward IV on items for his chantry chapel, and the ostrich feathers mentioned on three red copes of velvet.¹¹⁷ The only form of armorial decoration is confined to garments bearing the red cross of St George. The main difference, however, appears to be in the relative weighting of items decorated with figures and those decorated with flowers: figures, which were the most popular form of decoration in 1384, have by 1501, been replaced by vestments powdered with flowers of gold and other colours. Surviving examples of vestments tentatively support this trend, for by the fifteenth century, flowers were woven in and around the feet of figures, and as decorations in their own right, in a way that they were not in the fourteenth century. **III. 127**

Flowers and Ephemeral Decoration

From these examples, it seems likely that flowers as a form of artistic adornment became particularly favoured in the fifteenth century. In the final quarter of the century, flowers came to replace acanthus and scroll-work decoration in the margins of illuminated manuscripts, as seen in works such as the *Hastings Hours*.¹¹⁸ However, the surviving examples, used in conjunction with the St George’s inventories, suggest that this form of

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 155.

¹¹⁸ See above, Chapter Two.

decoration may first have become popular in embroidery and textiles. This trend may be complementary to the emergence of references in the precentors' rolls of payments for flowers gathered to decorate the church in preparation for particular ceremonies. In 1454 and 1458, for example payments of 4d were given to the choristers for the collection of flowers for Palm Sunday.¹¹⁹ Churchwardens' accounts of other foundations contain similar entries. This type of ephemeral decoration, which appears to have become more popular in the fifteenth century, would have linked the treatment of the chapel space closely to the changing of the seasons, therefore providing some insight into the close ties that existed between sacred spaces and the natural environment.

A comparison of two London church accounts, St Margaret's (Westminster) and St Mary at Hill, reveals a strikingly similar pattern of expenditure on flowers in connection with the major ceremonies in the life of the church. As these are fuller accounts of expenditure than those surviving from St George's, they provide a useful comparative reference. Unsurprisingly, holly and ivy were consistently used for decoration during the winter. Extant records of St Mary at Hill record annual payments in 1479-80, 1487-8, 1490-1495, and throughout the sixteenth century, for "holme and ive at Crystmas" to decorate the church.¹²⁰ Payments were generally in the region of 1 to 2d.¹²¹ The consistent expenditure across such a wide chronological period may indicate that decorative schemas were largely fixed, and it was not necessary to purchase extra in order to accommodate some new arrangement within the church. Similarly, payments are recorded in St Margaret's accounts. These are generally slightly greater, suggesting more plants were purchased, 4d being spent in 1475.¹²² Bringing in evergreen boughs to decorate at Christmas is a custom which goes back to pre-Christian times. Holly, especially with its sharp-spines and berries held throughout the winter, was seen as a powerful male fertility symbol, with ivy its female equivalent as expressed in a late medieval poem "Holly and his mery men / Sitt in cheires of gold; Ivy and her jentell women / Witt without in fold".¹²³ Its pagan uses were easily accommodated by Christianity, holly standing for the crown of thorns and the berries for Christ's blood,¹²⁴ and therefore an appropriate decoration for the church at Christmas time, auguring of the future burdens Christ would endure. Holly was reputedly one of the woods from which the cross may have been

¹¹⁹ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.34.

¹²⁰ H. Littlehales, *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St Mary at Hill) AD 1420-1559* (London, 1904-5).

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 214.

¹²² H. F. Westlake, *St Margaret's Westminster* (London, 1914), p. 145.

¹²³ E.K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics: Amorous, Divine, Moral and Trivial* (London, 1966 edition), p. 238-9. Taken from Oxford Balliol College MS 394, *The Commonplace Book of Richard Hill*, before 1504-1535.

¹²⁴ R. Mabey, *Flora Britannica* (London, 1996), p. 250.

made¹²⁵ and ivy appears in medieval carvings in both Westminster Abbey and Wells Cathedral.¹²⁶

Expenditure on red roses, in particular rose garlands, is also consistent across the years. St Margaret's spent 5d on "garlands of reed rooses" on Corpus Christi Day in 1485-6. The accounts of St Mary's record more fully the annual regularity of purchases of roses. Between 1477-9, 11d was spent on "Rose garlondis and wodrove-garlondis on Saynt Barnabis Day".¹²⁷ As at St Margaret's, Corpus Christi was also an occasion to purchase garlands of both roses and woodruff. These entries suggest that a diversity of colour was important when decoration of the church was being considered; in 1519-20, at St Mary's, the woodruff garlands are simply recorded as "Grene garlondis for that procession". In 1526-7 at St Mary at Hill, there is a record of lavender, in addition to roses and garlands, being purchased on Corpus Christi Day. The payment is a large one – 2s 5d, and although it is difficult to ascertain for certain, this might reflect the unusual additional demand for lavender to decorate the church.¹²⁸ Box and palms were regularly purchased for Palm Sunday;¹²⁹ evidently other flowers were also used to adorn the church at this time, for the entry for 1490-91 indicates that 7d was spent on "palmes, oblaeyes and flowers". Sometimes broom was purchased too.¹³⁰ Birch was purchased annually to celebrate midsummer and rushes were purchased at frequent intervals by the wardens of both St Margaret's and St Mary at Hill. Rushes seem to be frequently associated with new areas of the church building where they would have been strewn over bare-earth floors; they were purchased in 1493-4 and 1504-5 at St Mary's for the "strewyn of new pewes".¹³¹ In St Margaret's, an entry in the accounts records an unspecified payment for "xiiij borthens of roshys to straw the new Ile at Ester" in 1489-90.¹³² They were also purchased for Saint Margaret's Day in 1496-7.¹³³ Payments for "strewing herbs" to scatter on the church floor during processions are recorded at both churches.¹³⁴ These supplement the references at St George's for the cleaning of the chapel, and strewing of fresh rushes in the aisles in preparation for Easter. Later accounts record annual payments for new mats, which are likely to have been made from rushes, for the choir.¹³⁵

¹²⁵ G. Grigson, *The Englishman's Flora* (St Albans, 1975), p. 116.

¹²⁶ Mabey, *Flora Britannica*, p. 282.

¹²⁷ Littlehales, *Medieval Records*, p. 81.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 339.

¹²⁹ It is unlikely that this payment refers to palm as we know it, as this was not available in England at the time. Instead, it is likely that this refers to catkinned hazel, which may have been carried as palm at Easter. S Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (London, 1995), p. 41.

¹³⁰ Littlehales, *Medieval Records*, p. 391.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p. 198 and p. 254.

¹³² Westlake, *St Margaret's*, p. 154.

¹³³ *ibid.*, p. 160.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 182. Littlehales, *Medieval Records*, p. 269.

¹³⁵ For eg. Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives XV.56.35 and XV.56.36.

The evidence from the accounts for the location of the various flowers is more scanty, but frequently they were carried in procession. At St Mary's, "flaggis" and "torchis" were purchased in addition to flower garlands to adorn the procession for Corpus Christi between 1479 and 1481.¹³⁶ Garlands were evidently worn by some participants of processions in 1519-20, as the entries record 3d being spent on garlands for "Mr Doctor and the parish Prest"; three further garlands were purchased for the "iij crossis, euery one of them".¹³⁷ In 1521-2, five dozen garlands were purchased "for the Crossis and the quere and for other straungers that did bere Copis on Corpus Christi day".¹³⁸ An entry in the accounts from 1556-7 records the payment of 1d for "thred to bynd the palmes, box and you" next to an entry "ij reeds to lyght the sepulture", perhaps indicating the existence of floral decoration in or on the Easter Sepulchre.¹³⁹ At St George's too, flowers are mentioned in conjunction with the Easter Sepulchre as early as 1384, but these were embroidered flowers and birds on a cloth of blue silk, for covering the Sepulchre.¹⁴⁰

The consistency of evidence recording the purchase of flowers indicates that they were an important visual element in the life of the late medieval church. Documentary evidence taken from wills goes some way towards confirming this. At Holy Trinity Church in Long Melford, Suffolk, John Clopton (1423-96) built a chantry chapel in which he would lie interred after his death. The tomb links the chantry chapel, to the north of the high altar, with the choir of the church, and was intended to function as the Sepulchre during Lent and Easter. In his will, Clopton made this intention clear:

"Also I will that suche clothes of velwet, with all maner of braunches, flowres, and all maner of oder stuff that I have set abowte the sepulture at Ester...as well as the grene as the red, I yefe and bequeth it alwaye to the same use of the sepulture"¹⁴¹

It is revealing that he left funds specifically for the decoration of the tomb at Easter, and that the decoration should include "braunches and flowres". Although the few pence that might have been spent on floral decoration each year would easily have been met by his estate, his testament ensured that people would not forget; he evidently considered flowers a crucial component of this most important of ceremonies within the liturgical year. Concerning the

¹³⁶ Littlehales, *Medieval Records*, p. 100.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 305.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 322.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 406.

¹⁴⁰ Bond, *Inventories.*, p. 49.

¹⁴¹ The text is printed in Sir W. Parker, *The History of Long Melford* (London, 1873), pp. 70-73. See also G. McMurray-Wilson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1989) p. 92.

placement of flowers, he indicated that the adornment should be “abowte” the sepulchre, rather than on it. This might suggest that garlands, or something similar, were hung about the sides of the tomb, or that an arrangement of plants and flowers might be situated against the chantry chapel walls, to either side of the tomb itself. That flowers are only mentioned in connection with the tomb as Easter Sepulchre, and not directly with his own tomb, might also suggest that floral decoration was to be on the choir side of the tomb, and not a temporary component of the decorative scheme of the chantry chapel itself. The Clopton chantry was certainly colourful enough not to need additional floral adornment; at one time the whole chantry wall seems to have been covered with inscriptions, mottoes and pictures, but now all that survives are painted verses from Lydgate’s Marian lament “*Quis dabit meo capiti fontem lacrimarum?*”, painted on a ceiling-beam at the west end, and the verses from his “Testament”, painted on plaques running round the chapel at the very top of the wall.¹⁴² However, natural forms are included in the painted decoration itself, branches weaving in and out of the scrollwork, and the cornices and principals are elaborately carved with interlacing foliage and flowers which form a continuous ornament around the higher portion of the building.¹⁴³ **III. 128**

The evidence hitherto considered concerns the use of flowers for special occasions in the life of the church; it is focussed around purchases made for processions, particularly for feast days and days of liturgical importance. This suggests that flowers were an adornment specific to important occasions. However, the silence of church accounts regarding the purchase of flowers at other times of year might also be revealing. In the document known as his “will”, Henry VI set out detailed plans for the appearance of his chapels at Eton and Cambridge. At Eton, he stipulated that

¹⁴² J. B. Trapp, “Verses by Lydgate at Long Melford” in *Review of English Studies*, New Series VI (1955), pp. 1-11.

¹⁴³ The liturgical drama of the Long Melford Easter Sepulchre now survives only in the text of Roger Martyn, a former churchwarden of Long Melford whose mid-sixteenth century account “the State of Melford Churche and of Our Ladie’s Chappel at the Easte Ende, as I, Roger Martin, Did Know It” provides an eyewitness account of the appearance of the Clopton Easter sepulchre in the years just before the Reformation. “In the Quire was a fair painted frame of Timber, to be set up about Maundy Thursday, with holes for a number of fair tapers to stand in before the Sepulchre, and to be lighted at Service time. Sometimes it was set overthwart the Quire before the Altar. The Sepulchre being always placed and finally garnished at the North End of the High Altar, between that and Mr Clopton’s little Chappel there, in a vacant place of the wall, I think upon a tomb of one of his ancestors”. His comment endorses the tentative suggestion that it was the side of the tomb facing the choir which was “finally garnished”. It also suggests that the record for thread, and for tapers to light the sepulchre, recorded in St Mary’s accounts, refers to the process of constructing and decorating the *tenebrae herse* (the frame of timber) crucial to the dramatic realisation of Easter in the late medieval church.

“The Space between the wall of the church and the wall of the cloister shall conteyne 38 feet, which is left for to sett in certaine trees and flowers, behovable and convenient for the service of the same church.”¹⁴⁴

Not only does this indicate that the provision of floral decoration for churches was considered to be important by the most powerful, pious individuals, but it also suggests that flowers may have been brought into the church on a day-to-day basis. It is perhaps noteworthy in this context that a Windsor payment is for the collection of flowers by choristers, rather than the purchase of flowers directly.¹⁴⁵ It seems that there was a herbarium attached to the cloister at St George’s Chapel, for payments of 4d to Thomas Caolle and 1d to his son, were made for repairing the benches there, and 8d was spent on “4 rodde” for the garden.¹⁴⁶ A garden attached to the church would have provided many flowers suitable for all kinds of occasions; evidently some kinds of flowers were more suitable for use in churches than others, for Henry VI requests that only those “behovable and convenient for the service of the church” be used. Other churches, including St Mary at Hill, were known to have gardens attached,¹⁴⁷ but such gardens may not have been of a sufficient size to provide enough of any one flower needed for feast days (the creation of several rose garlands must have necessitated a large number of flower heads). They would, however, have most likely provided an adequate supply at other times; church accounts thus remain silent about the day-to-day use of flowers, as there was no need to purchase them.

Visual evidence for the actual use of flowers in churches is scanty. Sources for the making and wearing of garlands can be found, complementing the documentary records for the purchase of garlands. In Bodleian Library MS Douce 195, Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung’s version of *Le Roman de la Rose*, includes many miniatures in the style of the late fifteenth-century artist, Robinet Testard. On f. 26 r. a man picks red flowers from a bed. **III. 129** These might be fashioned into the kind of garland depicted in the scene showing “The return of David with the Head of Goliath” from the *Grimani Breviary*, c.1510, (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS. Lat.1, 99.) **III. 130** The artist known as the ‘Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary’, at the peak of his career when this manuscript was produced, painted a woman kneeling before the young David, offering a garland of leaves and possibly rose petals, which is of the right size to fit on David’s head. The scene is bordered by realistic images of flowers and insects, in the style which emerged in Flanders in the

¹⁴⁴ Printed in Willis and Willis Clark, *Architectural History*, vol. i., p. 354.

¹⁴⁵ See above, p. 212.

¹⁴⁶ Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archive, XV.56.32.

¹⁴⁷ Mrs E. Cecil, *A History of Gardening in England* (London, 1910), p. 18. J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England* (London, 1717), indicates that six church-yards served the church: the great and the little, the north and the south; the Pardon church-yard and the procession church-yard, p. 90.

1470s. The artist, regarded for his close attention to texture and detail, and lively evocation of court splendour,¹⁴⁸ accurately records the use of such garlands within a joyful, ceremonial context, confirming evidence in documentary sources that such garlands were used for processions and feast days in particular.

The expense and trouble taken to ensure flowers were used in processions indicates they had an important function. The choice of flowers suggests that this was partly symbolic. For use in garlands and as head-dresses, fresh roses were consistently favoured, sometimes to be arranged with woodruff. Red roses had been linked with processions since antiquity, when they were frequently used in funeral processions; in Christian mythology, they subsequently became associated with martyrs,¹⁴⁹ hence their popularity as adornments for saints days. Red roses in particular were associated with the Virgin Mary, likened to a “rose without thorns,” and images of the coronation of the Virgin frequently show her wearing a crown of red roses. Often also depicted in a rose garden, the Virgin Mary in Stephan Lochner’s *Madonna* c.1440 sits under a regal canopy of trained red and white roses wearing a jewelled crown of red and blue flowers. **III. 131** Geertgen Tot Sint Jans’ *Madonna of the Rosary* c.1480 shows the Virgin’s crown resting on a garland of red and white rose petals. **III. 132** Emerging in the late-fifteenth century, the cult of the rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary brought new symbolism to the use of roses; eventually white roses came to stand for the joyous mysteries of the rosary, red ones for the Virgin’s sorrowful mysteries and yellow roses for her glorious mysteries.¹⁵⁰ When used during Corpus Christi, red roses may have symbolised the passion and the blood of Christ for both Saint Ambrose and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux applied Eucharistic symbolism to red roses.¹⁵¹ In the London *Hastings Hours*, red roses are used in borders of miniatures depicting both the Virgin and Christ (f. 85 and f. 266).

The direct evidence for the placement of other flowers in church is more problematic for rarely do documents inform us directly about their precise use. Rushes (remains of which were found under the choir stalls at Windsor during nineteenth century work on the choir) were pliable, humble and grew near water, and may have been associated with humility and obedience of the faithful. These qualities peculiar to the plant may have made them appropriate to scatter on the floor of the church, or in new pews. Lilies are arguably the most frequently depicted flower in late medieval art, but although popular in borders of manuscripts such as the London *Hastings Hours* (f. 265) they rarely proliferate within an individual

¹⁴⁸ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 421.

¹⁴⁹ M. Levi D’Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting* (Florence, 1977), p. 330.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 340

painting: usually only a single stem is represented, most frequently as a symbol of the annunciation. In the *Beauchamp Hours and Psalter* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms.M.893, f. 12) early 1440s, a lily in a maiolica vase is placed in a recessed niche above a stone table. **II. 133** The spatial composition, in which the canopy projecting from the niche, extends over the Virgin herself, draws her into the architectural structure, which seems to correspond closely to an actual altar. Of all the flowers which could have decorated late medieval churches, the lily and the iris are the only ones which sometimes appear placed on an altar; these depictions are, however, relatively rare. A miniature by an artist of the Boucicaut workshop, of a “Dying Man praying to the Lord” (Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, MS 1717 f. 106), shows a single lily in a vase placed on the altar. **III. 134** The spatial proportions of the image place the altar outside the worldly realm: it is not on the same pictorial plane as the bed in which the dying man lies, instead it hovers between the temporal and the heavenly spaces, represented by a blue background powdered with stars. The position of the altar, and the placement of a simple trinity of crucifix, lily and lighted taper, suggest that this lily is a motif for the presence of the Christ and / or the Virgin as an intercessor for the dying man, rather than an accurate representation of a scheme of altar decoration. While this should not be used therefore as evidence for the placement of flowers on altars, it does imply that the literal depiction of flowers on an altar was not so out of place as to be considered blasphemous.

Although common in late medieval art, it is difficult to match visual evidence for the use of lilies and irises in late medieval ceremonies with documentary sources. In the 1501 inventory of St George’s Chapel, many of the flowers which decorated the textiles, including roses, lilies and fleurs-de-lys, are mentioned by name. This is not something that is found in the 1384 inventory, and the new specificity matches the precise descriptions found in the churchwardens accounts of the London churches. On one occasion, the name fleurs-de-lys has been crossed out, to be replaced by that of lily.¹⁵² Taken in conjunction with the evidence above, this implies that those purchasing floral adornments, or writing inventories, took a genuine interest in accurately identifying the plants they were purchasing or describing.

Negotiating the language of flowers represented in late medieval artworks provides potential solutions for how they may have been used at St George’s. Cut flowers may have been placed on either side of the altarpieces – they frequently appear appended to, yet distinct from the central scene of paintings. The scene from the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, c.1470-5, (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1857) showing “Mary? reading her

¹⁵² Bond, *Inventories*, p. 155.

devotions” expresses a close relationship between flowers, an object of veneration and the viewer. **III. 135** The miniature has a complex spatial configuration, with the central devotional scene being viewed through a niche which is itself part of the miniature. Simultaneously, the niche acts as a frame resulting in the decorative border being eliminated. Various prompts to devotion rest on the ledge, including two carnations and several iris stems in a vase. Leading the eye of the viewer into the scene, in a similar way to that found in the Hugh van der Goes’ *Portinari Altarpiece* (1475-6), they frame the central object of devotion, without encroaching on the sanctified space; although the common language of these flowers indicates that they may point towards the future Passion of Christ and suffering of the Virgin, as she focuses on her devotions, Mary seems uninterested in their presence. As worldly adornment, beyond the scope of her inner gaze, these flowers prefigure the new type of border which emerged out of the Ghent-Bruges school in the mid-1470s in which flowers are used as a decorative framing device.

In Roger van der Weyden’s *Thyssen Madonna and Child*, flowers flank the niche in which she sits. **III. 136** The floral motifs and blank arcading of the niche in Roger’s panel echo the appearance of real aumbries in which the container of the Host was displayed. The altarpiece, symbolically associated with sculptural space, perhaps indicates that the use of cut flowers to flank the central image might record an actual decorative practice in late medieval churches. Flowers grow on the left and right of the niche, both framing and adorning it;¹⁵³ such a reading would reinforce Barbara Lane’s thesis that these paintings can be deconstructed to understand more clearly the precise relationship between the painting and the circumstances of its display.¹⁵⁴ The appearance of small vases of cut flowers around the edge of many Netherlandish altarpieces could be read in the same way.

The most intimate direct contact many wealthy individuals may have had with floral decoration is in the observation of scenes such as those depicted in the Hastings, Donne and Bray Hours where the border decoration represents a new way to express the spatial relationship between flowers, a representative image, and their beholder. The development of the floral manuscript border in the later fifteenth century may be linked to the way people were treating flowers in churches, and in turn, may have influenced the way people would understand flowers used for adornment. In this style of *trompe l’oeil* border illumination concerned with accurate representation, the qualities of light, texture, shadow and colour are carefully rendered while tones and shapes complement those in the central miniature.

¹⁵³ I have not been able to identify these flowers, but the flower on the right closest to the niche is certainly an iris.

¹⁵⁴ B. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York, 1984), pp. 25-35.

Although in both the manuscript and the building, flowers existed at a contact point which promoted thoughtful piety, the spatial dimensions of this piety changed throughout the fifteenth century. The decorative function of flowers, as exemplified by their use in churches – the contact point for the great majority of individuals who did not own books of hours – indicates they were a vital visual component of sanctified space, which may have brought to mind the approach of a particular ceremony, and the onward march of the liturgical year. The decoration of a number of sacred textiles, and of architectural details such as the cornice around the chantry chapel of John Oxenbridge,¹⁵⁵ at St George's, with representations of flowers, anchored the visual vitality of floral adornment closely within the context of sacred space. **III. 137** The movement of individuals wearing these textiles through a sacred space, perhaps also carrying garlands or strewing herbs, integrated this form of decoration closely into the liturgical year.

The Use of Music in St George's Chapel

Competent performance of plainsong, and increasingly polyphony, was an essential component of the liturgy of any medieval church, not least St George's. The presence of a large number of graduals and antiphoners within the book list discussed above, alerts us to the significance of music at the chapel, which would have added an aural dimension to the space. Accomplished execution was necessary as this was the primary means by which the grace of God was brought down to the chapel, thus Edward III's statutes instructed that all vicars, clerks and choristers possessed serviceable voices for singing.¹⁵⁶ There is evidence for the early cultivation of polyphony in the chapel for among the grant of books given by the College of St George to the Bodleian Library in 1612, is one which has three fly-leaves of English polyphony dating from the late fourteenth century. This includes the Marian trope "Spiritus et alme", confirming that its composition was for use at the Lady mass.¹⁵⁷ Also, individuals such as John Aleyn, and Roger Gervays (the latter associated with a three-voice setting of Gloria in the Old Hall Manuscript) had served for a time as canons of the chapel.¹⁵⁸ From Michaelmas 1435, there occur payments for the attendance of choirboys at the daily Lady mass with their instructor.¹⁵⁹ Although the college fell on hard times financially during the mid fifteenth century, the grants made by John, duke of Bedford in the 1420s and 30s,

¹⁵⁵ It is decorated with bunches of flowers, and the tudor symbols of roses and pomegranates.

¹⁵⁶ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives IV.B.1. f. 77r. and v. Statutes 13 and 15.

¹⁵⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 384 f. i.-iii. R. Bowers "Music and Musical Establishment", p. 178. He observes that as this book does not carry an inscription showing evidence of previous ownership, it is likely that this book was of a Windsor origin.

¹⁵⁸ Bowers, "Music and Musical Establishment", p. 179.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 186.

allowed the college to pay extra sums to clerks who were also professional singers in 1437.¹⁶⁰ The greater skills needed for the performance of polyphony necessitated increasingly accomplished performers. Two of the most prominent composers of the Chapel Royal of Henry V and Henry VI, Thomas Damett and Nicholas Sturgeon, who may both have accompanied Henry V on his French expeditions, were canons of the college.¹⁶¹ John Plummer was also appointed to the staff of St George's, as virger in 1454, having previously been a composer and lay gentleman of the Chapel Royal of Henry VI.¹⁶² Under Edward IV, he was recalled to the Chapel Royal, but he still spent twenty-three days at Windsor in 1461-2 and 1462-3, as well as residing full-time there after his retirement in 1467-8, suggesting his positions as a member of the Chapel Royal, and of St George's College overlapped.¹⁶³ In 1438-9, parchment was bought for the compilation of a new volume to receive polyphonic settings, costing the considerable sum of 14s for both the materials and the writing,¹⁶⁴ confirming the revision of old material and provision of new compositions implied in the 1415-16 record above. This practice evidently continued in the new chapel, for Thomas Heywood was paid 12d for noting the lessons of tenebrae in 1522-3.¹⁶⁵

The evidence suggests that polyphony was performed daily at St George's, rather than being conserved simply for festal or state occasions. The linking of the evidence for the conduct of polyphony in the chapel, with settings for the Lady mass, performed daily before the mass of requiem and the high mass, suggests that music was used to add lustre to this ceremony in particular. A 1471 visitor to the chapel, albeit on a state occasion, Lord Gruthuyse, apparently heard a Lady mass "which was melodyously sung", his terminology implying polyphony.¹⁶⁶ Although there may have been an altar dedicated to the Virgin in the small nave of the old chapel, it is unlikely that sufficient space would have allowed a large gathering of individuals to sing in this area. A payment in the precentor's roll for 1428-9 refers to cushions of green tapestry bought to put under the knees of the lords when they heard masses at the low altars in the chapel, suggesting that worship at these altars was an altogether less elaborate affair.¹⁶⁷ The high altar, dedicated to the Virgin, St George and St Edward, and flanked by a silver-gilt figure of the Virgin, was more likely to have been the focus for Lady

¹⁶⁰ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives XV.34 and XV.34.38. R. Bowers, "Obligation, Agency and Laissez-Faire: The Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth Century England" in I. Fenton (ed.), *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 8-9.

¹⁶¹ Bowers, "Music and Musical Establishment", p. 189.

¹⁶² *ibid.*, p. 195.

¹⁶³ H. Marsh-Jeffries, "The Composer John Plummer and St George's Chapel" in Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel*, pp. 135-149.

¹⁶⁴ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.34.39.

¹⁶⁵ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.36.

¹⁶⁶ Madden, "Narratives", p. 277.

¹⁶⁷ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.28.

masses, the location of a revered image of the Virgin providing a visual focal point to those singing such settings. It is known that at Eton, Henry VI directed that the choir should gather before an image of the Virgin Assumptive in the nave of the chapel, in order to sing a daily votive antiphon, *Salve regina* during Lent and other antiphons for the rest of the year, after vespers.¹⁶⁸ The early evidence for polyphonic Lady settings at St George's suggests that this may already have been an established practice there. It may have been felt that the impassive silver-gilt statue, glittering in the candlelit choir, may be more kindly disposed to intercede for the salvation of canon, courtier and king if she was also the recipient of music which was breaking new aural boundaries.

Edward IV's rebuilding of the chapel provided the scope for a total review of its provision for music. In his will, he proposed to make substantial additions to the endowment of the college, including expanding the choral force from twenty-three to forty-five singers, able to yield the more fulsome sound then fashionable.¹⁶⁹ By Christmas, 1482, the new choral strength for St George was settled at sixteen vicars choral paid £10 p.a. each; one deacon, gospeller, at £6 13s 4d p.a.; thirteen lay clerks at £10 p.a.; two clerks, epistoler, at £6 13s 4d p.a.; and thirteen choristers at £40. For the accommodation of the vicars choral and some of the clerks, twenty-one lodgings known as the horseshoe cloister were built between 1478 and 1481. In order that the best choristers be retained by St George's, the chapter possessed a licence almost certainly first issued by Edward IV, to requisition for membership of the choir the services of chorister-boys raised and trained in other institutions.¹⁷⁰ Edward's interest in the competent provision of music is further attested to in his attitude towards the Chapel Royal. This was incorporated in 1483, and provided with endowments from the Chapel of St Peter within the Tower of London, in order to maintain a dean, three canons, a sub-dean, treasurer, precentor and twenty four chaplains and "gentylmen clerkes" who had to be "endewed with vertuose moral and speculatif as of theyre musike, shewing in descant, clene voyssed, all relysed and pronouncinge, eloquent in Reding, sufficiaunt in organes pleyng". Two older children and eight other children were taught songs and other "virteous thinges" by a master chosen by the dean.¹⁷¹ Clearly Edward had in mind that the splendid performance of both plainchant and polyphony would be better served by the increase in both number and professionalism of choristers. However, the size of the new foundation at Windsor must also have had an impact on his decision to increase the size of the choir there: a much larger

¹⁶⁸ M. Williamson, "Pictura et scriptura: The Eton Choirbook in its iconographical context" in *Early Music* 28 (2000), pp. 360-362.

¹⁶⁹ Bowers, "Music and Musical Establishment", pp. 199-200 discusses the evidence for the gradual expansion of numbers of singers. Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 375.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 204.

¹⁷¹ D. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990), p. 40.

structure than the earlier chapel, more voices would be necessary to fill the new space with music of comparable sonority. From the time of the re-foundation, periodic payments occur in the treasurers' rolls for payments to the 'informator' and to the choristers for singing the antiphon *Nunc Christe te petimus*, a part of the text of *Sancte Deus, sancta fortis*, which was commonly sung as a Jesus antiphon.¹⁷²

The polyphony composed for church use at the end of the fifteenth century included expansive settings of the ordinary for high mass on feast days and principal Garter celebrations, and magnificats for use at first vespers on the previous evening. Somewhat slighter settings were performed for the ordinary at the daily Lady mass, with settings also of its kyrie, alleluia and sequence; and imposing settings of Marian votive antiphons, for use daily at an evening devotion.¹⁷³ (These were performed, after 1500, in the Lady Chapel, which Henry VII had directed should replace the old Chapel of St George.) The complexity of this aural space placed greater acoustic demands on the foundations of the day. At St George's the existence of "acoustic pots" buried within the base of the choir stalls, suggests that attempts were made to maximise the quality of sound within the chapel from the outset.¹⁷⁴ One of the reasons for the increased size of the new structure may well have been the better acoustic potential provided by a larger building, where the great height of ceilings reduced the interference of sounds reflected from them.¹⁷⁵ Sacred music was not as integrated into the formal decoration of the new chapel as it could have been. There are no original examples of musical angels, such as those found in the chantry chapel founded by Beauchamp in St Mary's Warwick. Some of the carvings which adorn the choir desks include musical instruments, but the scenes do not concern sacred music. One desk carving, for example, shows a cat sitting on a stool and playing on a pair of organs. Another cat blows the bellows, while a third holds an open music book;¹⁷⁶ another shows a bull playing a zither or lute.¹⁷⁷

The structure of the liturgical day of St George's has been outlined above.¹⁷⁸ Alongside the continual round of services that took place in the choir, and at the other altars in the chapel, would have been the singing of chantry masses in separate chapels around the building, and at nave altars to which a chantry was attached. Not all the evidence for the precise nature of the provision of chantry masses within the chapel survives. There is no

¹⁷² F. L. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958), p. 174.

¹⁷³ Bowers, "Music and Musical Establishment", p. 209.

¹⁷⁴ M. Bond, "Acoustic Pots in St George's Chapel" in *Report of the Society of the Friends of St George* (1953), p. 9.

¹⁷⁵ "Room Acoustics. 8 Medieval Times", *New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*.

<http://www.grovemusic.com>

¹⁷⁶ Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 441.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 442.

¹⁷⁸ See above, pp. 193-194.

evidence, for example, for the provision of services at the altars founded by John Donne, and little for that of Reginald Bray. At Windsor, Bray provided for “a trentall of masses on this day of his burying, and another within 30 days of his death” but he did not stipulate daily ceremonies in the chapel. Katherine Bray, in her will, added a little more detail to Bray’s will, requesting that as soon as possible after her death, the canons of the chapel were to gather in the choir and to say the psalter, while also making provision for the daily recitation of dirige and placebo (the office of the dead) while her body was “above ground”. In his will, William Hastings specified a daily mass and divine service at the altar next to the place where his body was buried; the foundation document of the chantry provides little extra detail, confirming that one priest should say divine service daily, when he is disposed to say mass.¹⁷⁹ Hastings’ will, however, provides greater details for chantry masses he endowed at a number of other foundations, where the performance of polyphony was specified. To the abbot of Sulby, he left funds for which “the same abbot and convent, shall do solemnly, with note, *Placebo* and *Dirige*; and on the morrow, mass of Requiem in the quire of the same Abbey...and for ever the same day yearly shall say *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and mass of Requiem on the morrow...; and that a preste, being one of the said convent, shall daily for ever say a masse of Requiem at an awter to be ordeigned...in the said abbey...and that the preste...saying masse in the said Abby daily, for ever, say an especial collect, in every one of their masses, for myn soul”.¹⁸⁰ The abbot and convent of Leicester were to “syng *Placebo* and *Dirige* with note” for his soul, while the Newarke at Leicester, the Chapel of Our Lady (called the Chapel on the Bridge) and the parish church of Ashby de la Zouche, were all left funds with which to provide either obits, or daily masses.¹⁸¹ The detailed provision for Edward IV’s chantry masses is wanting, for according to his will they would be specified, “in such fourme and manere as hereafter we shall doo to be ordeigned and devised”,¹⁸² a document for which no longer survives. Evidently, it was the intention that these would be clearly set out, for Edward indicated that the two priests endowed to fulfil the chantry provisions were to “truly observe and kepe all observances and divine service...at such tyme and place, as shal also be limited and appointed”.¹⁸³ He went on, however, to confirm that two priests should be “discharged of keping divine service in the chauncell of the college...of lesse then it bee upon the principall festis in the year, or that the quere go a procession, which daies we woll they goo a procession with the quere”, indicating that on those occasions their voices would have added to the performance force of services within the main chapel. The most detailed instructions for the structuring of the chantry duty are found in the 1481 foundation document of the Anne,

¹⁷⁹ Windsor, St George’s Chapel Archives, XV.58.C.17.

¹⁸⁰ Nichols, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 370.

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp. 370-371.

¹⁸² Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 373.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*

duchess of Exeter's chantry, in the north transept.¹⁸⁴ It is worth considering this further, for the depth of detail provides evidence for the relationship of saying of chantry services to the saying of services in the chapel itself.

In it, her late husband, Thomas St Leger, instructed two priests to "hallow, sing and say divine service daily". Daily, when the priests entered the chapel, they were to say kneeling the psalms *Misere mei Deus* and *De profundis*, with the collect *Inclina* for the founders. They were to say matins daily in the chapel before eight o'clock and evensong between the first peal and the end of evensong or compline in the choir "by note". They were to say two masses daily by the tomb of the duchess, one at 8 o'clock and the other at 10 o'clock; on Sunday of the Holy Trinity; on Monday of the Angels; Tuesday of the Holy Ghost; Wednesday of the Wounds of Christ; Thursday of Corpus Christi; Friday of requiem; and Saturday of Our Lady. At these masses, a special collect for the good estate of the king, queen and other individuals was to be said. During their lifetimes, this was to be *Deus qui justificas impium* and after their deaths, *Deus qui in terra promissionis*. When they went to the lavabo after the Gospel, they were to sing the psalm *De profundis* with the collect *Misere quaesumus domine anime famule tue*; daily they were to say *placebo* and *dirige*, and immediately after compline, they were to kneel and say the psalm *Deus in nomine tuo* with the collect *Deus qui caritatis*. The chantry priests were also instructed that "every Sunday and holiday after their duties are done, they are to join in procession and masses in the places in the choir given them by the dean and canons", similar to the stipulations in Edward IV's will.

These activities would have integrated the performance of music in the smaller chapels within St George's into the liturgical day of the main chapel. On a day-to-day basis, the chantry services would have been audible to those conducting services in other parts of the building, the issuing of chant and polyphony from numerous altars in the building providing an audible reminder of the miniature areas of sacred space within the overall foundation. On festal days, however, the inclusion of chantry priests within particular processions suggests these small spaces could be expanded as their priests assisted in spreading music to other parts of the church. On days of special significance, musical performance moved upwards in the building, (and therefore closer to God) and not simply around it, as payment for bread for the "minsters singing the Passion in the roodloft" suggests.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.58.C.7. Printed in A.S. Crawley, "Chapels and Chantries in St George's Chapel" in *Report of the Friends of the Society of St George* (1941), pp. 8-13.

¹⁸⁵ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.36.

Festivals and Garter Ceremonies

The old Chapel of St George had an organ, as materials were bought for its repair in 1395.¹⁸⁶ It may have been situated on top of the pulpitum, close to where books of versicles and graduals were chained for singing.¹⁸⁷ In 1439, a supplement of 20s was made available for the clerk who acted as organist.¹⁸⁸ Prior to that, however, it seems to have been called into operation for special services – for playing for the assumption and nativity of the Virgin in 1403 and 1415-16, and at the Christmas services in 1406.¹⁸⁹ The performance of distinctive music was not just linked with days of liturgical significance, but as evidence dating from around the time of the investiture of the Emperor Sigismund with the Order of the Garter makes clear, the performance of music on occasions of state importance was crucial. At Canterbury Cathedral, two motets written by John Dunstable were performed for Sigismund in 1416;¹⁹⁰ at St George's, his visit may have been the occasion prompting the rebuilding of the organ in April.¹⁹¹ This also coincides, most likely intentionally, with the embellishment of existing volumes of polyphonic music by the precentor, who purchased a quantity of vermilion "pro libris organ[icis]" for 2d.¹⁹² A number of manuscripts formerly belonging to Lord Scorpe, were also donated to the college by Henry V in 1415-16, including antiphoners, graduals, a lesson book and an ordinal.¹⁹³ This flurry of activity suggests a desire to increase not only the scale, but also the visual quality of the presentation, of musical service books. On this occasion, the presence of the emperor is likely to have added an extra incentive to the preparations made for an already important annual ceremony of the Order of the Garter.

The use of music during the Garter ceremonies at St George's may have borne some relation to the way the feast of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece was celebrated at the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.¹⁹⁴ It has been noted that in founding the order, Philip the Good specified (similarly to Edward III) that a daily mass should be celebrated by the canons of the Order's chapel at Dijon – "a haulte voix a chant et a descant fors quand la service sera la Requiem".¹⁹⁵ Music was also integral to the meetings of the order. It was originally intended that the meetings would follow a structure similar to that of

¹⁸⁶ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.14.

¹⁸⁷ See Introduction above, p. 6.

¹⁸⁸ Bowers, "Obligation and Laissez-Faire", p. 9.

¹⁸⁹ Bowers, "Music and Musical Establishment", pp. 182-183.

¹⁹⁰ M. Bent, *Dunstable* (London, 1981), p. 8.

¹⁹¹ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.22.

¹⁹² *ibid.*

¹⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ W. F. Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries" in *Early Music History* V (1985), pp. 113-153.

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 116.

the Order of the Garter. Members would convene on the eve of the patron's feast day (in this instance St Andrew) to celebrate vespers, before gathering in the chapel to celebrate the mass of St Andrew on the feast day itself, and a mass of requiem on the morrow of the feast. However, by the time of Philip the Fair, the celebrations accruing to the gathering of the order had lengthened significantly. Thus a five day feast was punctuated by daily religious ceremonies; the vespers of St Andrew on day one, a mass of the dead and of St Andrew on day two, a requiem mass and vespers of the Virgin on day three, a mass of the Virgin and vespers of the Holy Ghost on day four, and a mass of the Holy Ghost on day five.¹⁹⁶ The 1501 meeting was held in Notre Dame des Carmes in Brussels, and for this, a detailed description survives written by Niccolo Frigio, present in Brussels as an ambassador for Francesco II Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua. In this, he makes it clear that at this gathering, the full cycle of services was celebrated polyphonically.¹⁹⁷ According to the *Ordonnance d'Ostel* of Philip the Fair, written at least a year before the gathering, the chapel was to sing the entire ordinary of the mass, the introit, the gospel and the *Pater noster*. For the offices they were to sing the introit of vespers and compline at the chapters, the *magnificat* at vespers and the *nunc dimittis* at compline.¹⁹⁸ Although Frigio makes no mention of any particular work, at least the mass and vespers must have been performed in polyphony at this meeting. Very probably, the ordinary was also performed for it would usually have been performed in polyphony on festal occasions. Frigio also indicates that the members of the duke's chapel were present both for the meeting and at the banquet following the mass of St Andrew, where they were seated at a separate table. It seems unthinkable that the provision of sacred music during the feast of the Order of the Garter was any less elaborate, particularly in the new chapel, given Edward IV's stipulations for the augmentation of musical provision within the building. Furthermore, Frigio alludes to bursts of secular music – he describes the trumpeters who marched in the processions, (except for those of the office and the mass of the dead), and also mentions the presence of trumpets and other instruments at the ceremony in which the one year old duke of Luxembourg was elected to the Order. This music was clearly performed *within* the Brussels chapel and his comments alert us to an interesting dynamic formed between the secular and the sacred as expressed through musical provision.

The sources are frustratingly opaque about the nature of musical provision for annual Garter ceremonies. The order's statutes confirm that thirteen secular canons should participate in the mass of requiem for the souls of the Garter Companions and all Christian

¹⁹⁶ Marche, "Mémorial de la Fête de l'Ordre de la Toison D'Or tenue à Bois le Duc en 1481" *Mémoires*, vol. iv, p. 146-147.

¹⁹⁷ Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial", p. 125. The full text is printed pp. 136-143 and translated pp. 143-153.

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 127.

souls¹⁹⁹ and also that they should be involved in saying the mass for the honour of God and St George.²⁰⁰ Ashmole adds that at vespers on the eve of the feast, the organ was played while the Knights entered the choir.²⁰¹ However, much of Ashmole's evidence is taken from the reigns of later monarchs, and it is not possible to ascertain whether this was certainly done during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The witness describing the investiture of Philip of Castile is a little more informative. He indicates that immediately following the swearing of the oath of honour by Philip, the knights proceeded to their choir stalls, where "mass was sung by the bishop of Chichester".²⁰² Following a further ceremony, at which a peace treaty was signed by Henry VII and Philip, the knights and kings again returned to their stalls, where the bishop of Chichester "began the *Te Deum laudamus*".²⁰³ The performance of the *Te Deum* in a particularly festive manner on occasions of general rejoicing may have been something of a tradition, for an account of Richard III's visit to York in 1483 records that the *Te Deum* was "begun by the officiating prelate and finished by the choir and the organ".²⁰⁴ At Windsor, "after the *Te Deum* was sung, the trumpets that stood in the rood loft blew; and they blew continually till the king and the king of Castile, my lord prince, the knights of the order with other noblemen and officers were entered the chapter door".²⁰⁵ This intrusion of secular music into the sacred chapel space would have distinguished the celebration of the Garter feast from the liturgical celebration of other annual feasts. By mapping secular sounds, issuing from the rood loft – also the location for sacred singing on festal occasions – across sacred space, the use of music in the chapel paraphrases the interlocking secular and sacred emphases at the heart of the order itself.

* * * * *

The evidence presented in the early part of this chapter has sought to demonstrate how sanctity in both the old and new Chapels of St George was presented and conferred on ordinary, as well as ceremonial, occasions. Demarcating one liturgical feast from another was achieved primarily through the mediums of costume, music, floral decoration and processional ritual. Studying usage of the chapel confirms that this most regal of foundations used techniques that were tried and tested in other, less prestigious institutions, to channel the

¹⁹⁹ Jefferson, "Statutes", p. 379, Statute 15.

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 379, statute 17.

²⁰¹ Ashmole, *Order of Garter*, p. 538.

²⁰² Narrative of Investiture of Philip of Castile, p. 296.

²⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 298.

²⁰⁴ Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 216.

²⁰⁵ Narrative of investiture of Philip of Castile, p. 298.

experience of sacredness through a series of layers and barriers. Furthermore, it shows that St George's too was closely tied into the shifting seasonal dynamic which underpinned the experience of medieval Christian worship in parish, town and court. Thus the changing activities that took place in the chapel throughout the year corresponded to those that took place in many parish churches, distinguished largely at St George's by the scale of splendour, the beauty of music and the grandeur of participants.

Making Space for Pilgrims

Intrusion of a different kind underlines the experience of pilgrimage at St George. Of the favoured relics at St George's, interest in both St George's Heart, and the Cross Gneth, was usurped after Richard III decided to translate Henry VI's body from Chertsey Abbey to the south choir aisle at Windsor. **Plan 2 (19)** The quiet funeral given to Henry VI, and the choice of the location when there is evidence that Henry himself had considered a tomb next to his father in Westminster Abbey,²⁰⁶ suggests that Edward IV wanted Henry VI's memory to be as unobtrusive as possible. Although Edward had desired to attract pilgrims to the chapel, and had given thought to the placement of shrines and relics within the building, interring his Lancastrian predecessor there was certainly not part of the plan. The circumstances of Henry VI's cult, translation, and worship at Windsor warrant further consideration, for they provide evidence of how individuals lower down the social scale were encouraged to use the space in the chapel. In addition the alternative spatial dialogues, not anticipated by Edward IV, but created between the tomb and other visual features of the building, provide an interesting case study against which the success of Edward's vision for the foundation can be measured.

Just why Richard III took the decision to translate Henry VI has often been questioned. Possibly the desire to incorporate another increasingly popular cult to Windsor's financial advantage, or the wish to police the growing cult of his Lancastrian predecessor more closely may have motivated Richard III's decision. He may have been concerned to heal past divisions in order to gain political support from opposing factions for his fragile rule. A likely explanation can be found by exploring Richard III's understanding of his role as king. Focusing on the puritanical streak in Richard's conception of kingship – his self-appointed role as an Old Testament king and deliverer of the nation from sin – Jonathan Hughes has suggested that Richard III's proclamations represent an attempt to distance himself from

²⁰⁶ See above, Chapter One, p. 30.

Edward IV's actions and perhaps to be identified more closely with the saintly Henry VI.²⁰⁷ Certainly there appears to have been little desire on the part of Richard III to cherish Edward IV's memory, suggesting that he was unlikely to have been concerned about the consequences for his predecessor's visual legacy of re-locating Henry VI's tomb to a position opposite his Yorkist usurper. Richard's actions against Edward IV's former mistress, Elizabeth Shaw, reveal the moral austerity that anchored Richard's belief in the role of a king. Summoned to do public penance as a harlot through the streets of London, clad only in her kirtle and carrying a lighted taper, his persecution of her may have been designed to impress upon witnesses the moral laxity of Edward IV and his associates.²⁰⁸ But Richard III's actions could also be seen within the context of his deep personal piety. The unique litany added for Richard III at the end of his book of hours is a plea for forgiveness of sin on the basis of great suffering. "Keep us from weakness Jesus, for the sake of your name, cleanse us of offence and all crime." It is followed by a verse which pleads "Do not remember our former sins" and a response "Have mercy on us because we have been brought very low".²⁰⁹ His translation of Henry VI may in addition, therefore, represent a genuine desire to heal fifteenth century dynastic divisions and to atone for sins arising from his zealous political ambition.

By 1484, the cult of Henry VI at Chertsey was well established. The seeds for the development of this cult had been sown in chroniclers' descriptions of Henry VI's burial.²¹⁰ Henry VI had a background of true piety, known by contemporaries who commented on his devotion to prayer and recorded him in the act of making a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Edmund. **III. 138** Rumours surrounding his suspicious death only reinforced the belief in the monarch's saintly credentials – a violent death frequently contributed to an aura of sanctity around the deceased.²¹¹ The Crowland Chronicler captured the strength of popular sentiment:

"I shall say nothing, at this time, about the discovery of King Henry's lifeless body in the Tower of London; may God have mercy upon and give time for repentance to him, whoever it might be, who dared to lay sacrilegious hands on the Lord's Anointed. Also let the doer merit the title of tyrant and the victim that of glorious martyr. The body was put on view

²⁰⁷ J. Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 102-103. Hughes cites the evidence expressed in the open letter to the bishops on 10 March 1484, urging them to repress and punish immorality.

²⁰⁸ C. Ross, *Richard III* (London, 1981), p. 137.

²⁰⁹ A. Sutton and O. Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III* (Stroud, 1990), pp. 67-78. Hughes, *Religious Life*, p. 159.

²¹⁰ J. O. Halliwell (ed.), *Warkworth's Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward IV* (Camden Society, Old Ser., 1889), p. 21. Warkworth's comment that in St Paul's Henry "bledde on the payment ther" suggests an almost miraculous event.

²¹¹ D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000). She considers the cases of Edward II, p. 173, Richard Scrope, p. 174 and Henry VI, pp. 176-179.

for a few days in St Paul's church in London and then carried along the Thames in an illuminated barge, solemnly equipped for the purpose, to the monastic church of Chertsey in the diocese of Winchester, fifteen miles from the city, to be buried. The miracles which God has performed in answer to the prayers of those who devoutly implored his intercession attest the merit of a life of innocence, love of God and of the Church, patient in adversity and in outstanding qualities".²¹²

There is little evidence for the form Henry VI's cult took at Chertsey. Clearly pilgrims did visit his tomb there, for Edward IV issued a proclamation in 1473 to the Mercers' Company of London aimed to prevent unlicensed pilgrimage.²¹³ In 1480, the company thought it prudent to inform their members that pilgrimages to King Henry VI had been forbidden.²¹⁴ Certain miracles recorded by devotees of Henry VI occurred while the tomb was still at Chertsey, such as the "boy of four years old, drowned in a mill-stream, restored from the dead at the invocation of the blessed king Henry the Sixth. In the year of grace 1481 the 21st of king Edward".²¹⁵ On this occasion the body was eventually restored to life after the gathered onlookers

"Invoked God and his glorious Virgin Mother Mary, sheltering themselves beneath the renowned merits of his champion, King Henry; praying that if that blessed man enjoyed such felicity and such worth in his sight, he would graciously deign to pour out one drop of his mercy upon the little lad. In a moment, when they had scarce all finished this manner of praying, in proof of the merits of that most holy man, he who lay on the ground dead and despaired of by all began to move."²¹⁶

Contrary to most miracles recorded once the shrine was moved to Windsor, there is no confirmation that these particular beneficiaries actually visited Chertsey to express their thanks. It is difficult to ascertain how easy access was to the abbey. The Warkworth Chronicler confirms that he was buried in the Lady Chapel there,²¹⁷ anchoring the memory of Henry VI to the growing fifteenth century devotion to the Virgin, indicated by the dual invocation to King Henry and the Virgin Mary by the witnesses of this miracle. This association formed one of the basic elements of Henry VI's cult, noted by the earliest

²¹² J. Cox and N. Pronay (ed.), *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486* (London, 1986), pp. 130-131. For information on the compiler of this see Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 266-271.

²¹³ *CCR*, 1468-76, pp. 298-299.

²¹⁴ L. Lyell and F. D. Watney (ed.), *Acts of the Court of the Mercers' Company 1453-1527* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 134.

²¹⁵ R. Knox and S. Leslie, *The Miracles of King Henry VI* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 34.

²¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 38.

²¹⁷ *Warkworth's Chronicle*, p. 21.

chroniclers who recorded that while his body lay in St Paul's overnight, he rested beside an image of the Virgin.²¹⁸ Once the body was moved to Windsor, a richly adorned image of the Virgin was situated close to his tomb.²¹⁹

The appearance of Chertsey now has to be reconstructed from archaeological evidence. Instead of being situated east of the main church, the Lady Chapel was built after the demolition of the south transept apse. Investigations on the site yield no information about Henry VI's tomb there, and all that has been established with any degree of clarity is that in the Lady Chapel, itself a thirteenth-century structure, there were niches in the walls – possibly designed for the display of relics – several tombs and a wall bench running along the north wall of the chapel.²²⁰ This suggests a site which may have contained additional shrines / relics other than the tomb of Henry VI in order to attract pilgrims. In the absence of surviving documentary or physical evidence for the nature of these, however, it is difficult to draw any inferences about how visitations to the original tomb of Henry VI may have stimulated the development of his cult.

That those benefiting from the above miracles did not visit the shrine itself may suggest something about the early strength of Henry VI's cult. The treatment of an image of the monarch created for the great screen at York Cathedral, built after 1475, suggests that devotion could flourish at a site distant from the physical remains of the king.²²¹ Pilgrims decorated the statue of Henry VI at York with flowers and shortly afterwards it may have become an altar to Henry VI.²²² The treatment of this image yields evidence for the belief that the power of saintly individuals could be inherent in representations of them. This helps to explain the popularity of pilgrim badges of Henry VI.²²³ Devotion must have been sufficiently strong for the archbishop of York, in 1479, to forbid veneration of the statue of King Henry “lately king of England in fact but not by right” and to condemn those who made offerings to it in defamation of Edward IV.²²⁴ The cult was extensive for images of the monarch were

²¹⁸ *Great Chronicle*, p. 220.

²¹⁹ See below, p. 249.

²²⁰ R. Poulton, *Archaeological Investigations on the Site of Chertsey Abbey* (Research Volume of the Surrey Archaeological Society No. 11, 1988), p. 19.

²²¹ J. McKenna, “Piety and Propaganda: The Cult of King Henry VI” in B. Rowland (ed.) *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Russell Hope Robbins* (London, 1974), p. 74.

²²² *ibid.*

²²³ See below, pp. 244–246.

²²⁴ J. Raine (ed.), *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* 3 (Rolls Series, 1894), pp. 336–337.

venerated in Durham and Ripon Cathedrals and replicas began to appear in county churches.²²⁵

Veneration of Henry VI may have been well-established prior to the decision to move the tomb to Windsor, but this act transformed the cult, and stimulated devotion to the king many times over. John Rous recorded the translation, his language capturing the aura of sanctity attached to the physical remains of Henry VI. He described how the body of Henry was incorrupt and that the beard and hair were still intact although the face was somewhat sunken.²²⁶ Rous suggests that the body was solemnly re-interred to the south of the high altar. Archaeological investigations undertaken in 1910 confirmed that the body of Henry VI was located in the second bay of the south choir aisle.²²⁷

Evidence for the appearance of Henry's tomb at Windsor is fragmentary. The 1534 inventory indicates that King Henry's altar was adorned with riches and that "many costly jewels to the image of Our Lady [were placed] there".²²⁸ This suggests a structure operating on two conceptual levels, similar to that of Edward IV opposite, where an altar was placed in close proximity to his tomb. Writing in 1577, William Lambarde recorded that there was a small chip of his bedstead and an old red velvet hat located near the tomb, which were treated as relics by visitors to the chapel.²²⁹ In contrast to the desire to physically isolate the individual from the tomb of Edward IV by the use of the impressively gilded iron gates, here the individual was encouraged to interact with the shrine in ways additional to the visual. Foxe records pilgrims "coming so far to kiss a spur and to have an old hat set upon their

²²⁵ McKenna, "Piety and Propaganda", p. 74. These have not been explored for the iconographical information they may yield about Henry VI. A list of surviving images compiled in 1883, is now out of date. C. E. Keyser, *List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland having Surviving Mural and Other Painted Decorations* (London, 3rd Edition, 1883). P. Grosjean, *Henrici VI Angliae Regis Miracula Postuma ex Codice Musei Britannici Regio 13 C. VIII* (Brussels, 1935) cites the location of some of these images, pp. 251* - 255*, but his work is also out of date. Personal inspection has revealed that the image mentioned at Warfield, Berkshire, for example, is no longer extant. R. Marks' recent study, "Images of Henry VI" in J. Stratford (ed.) *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donnington, 2003) brings the evidence up to date. See also below, pp. 245-246.

²²⁶ Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, p. 217.

"Fugerunt tunc quamplures domini a regno, & in brevi obiit princeps morte infasta tempore paschali. Et in mense Augusti proximo sequente effossum est corpus regis Henrici sexti, & usque novam ecclesiam collegiatam castri de Wyndzour est translatum, ibi honorifice receptum, & cum maxima solempnitate irerum tumulatum ad australem partem summi altaris. Erat illud tunc factum corpus valde oderiferum, non quidem ex speciebus appositis, cum per inimicos atque tortores suos erat sepultum. Et pro magna parte erat tunc incorruptum, capillis & crinibus ubique fixum, facie consueta sed parum depressa cum macilentiori aspectu solito. Et statim affluebant miracula Regis sanctitatem profitentia, ut in scriptis ibi sufficienter evidet".

²²⁷ W. St John Hope, "The Discovery of the Remains of King Henry VI in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle" in *Archaeologia* 62 (1911) pp. 534-542.

²²⁸ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 179.

²²⁹ R. Tighe and J. Davies, *Annals of Windsor* (London, 1858), vol. i., p. 429.

heads”,²³⁰ which was supposed to be a cure for headaches. The spurs, but not the hat, are mentioned in the 1534 inventory.²³¹

The German traveller, Hentzner, indicated that “This venerable building is decorated with the noble monuments of Edward IV, Henry VI, Henry VIII and of his wife Queen Jane”, implying that the monument was still there at the end of the sixteenth century.²³² St John Hope notes that a painting described by Mr Willement dating from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century shows that the whole arch near Henry’s tomb was sumptuously decorated with painted heraldic devices.²³³ These appeared on a blue background and included the antelope, the white hart and the white swan. There was also a motif of the mast of a broken ship with a sail inscribed diagonally with the motto “En Dieu, En Dieu” – one of the numerous devices used by René of Anjou, father of Henry VI’s queen.²³⁴ The painting does not show the tomb itself, however and Dugdale later recorded that “Henry VI lies...near the altar, but without any tomb”.²³⁵ A drawing in British Library Add. MS 6298, f.148, probably made c.1583-1606, indicates how the tomb may have looked. **III. 139** The drawing was originally untitled, but a later seventeenth-century hand added underneath “Quae [sic] if not the figure of Henry VI because of the Angell”.²³⁶ Henry VI appears bearded²³⁷ and recumbent on a low tomb, charged upon the near side with a shield of the royal arms held by the figure of an angel. The king is armed in the fashion prevalent at the end of the fifteenth century. Upon his head is a crown, with four crosses inserted – a device stipulated by John Blacman to have been incorporated into the royal crown at the behest of King Henry VI,²³⁸ at the foot are the king’s beasts – the antelope and the leopard. Upon a bar over the figure are suspended the king’s achievements – his tabard showing his coat of arms and his target (left blank in the drawing and surrounded by a Garter). Between the tabard and the target hangs the helm, surmounted by a crown and topped by the lion of England. The king’s scabbard and sword are suspended below. In the absence of other surviving visual or narrative evidence with which it can correlate, it must remain a tentative, if likely example, of the way Henry VI’s tomb may have looked. In favour of believing this image to be a record of the Windsor tomb is the prevalence of the garter ensign, and Henry VI’s knightly achievements, which

²³⁰ Foxe, *Book of Martyrs*, p. 262.

²³¹ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 174.

²³² W. Rye (trans.), *England as Seen By Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I: Comprising translations of the Journals of the Two Dukes of Wirtemberg in 1592 and 1610* (London, 1865), p. 199, n. 33.

²³³ St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, vol. ii., p. 414.

²³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 415.

²³⁵ W. Dugdale, *Monsasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1717 edition), p. 353.

²³⁶ C. R. Beard, “The Tomb and Achievements of King Henry VI at Windsor” in F. H. Cripps-Day (ed.), *Fragmenta Armamentaria II*, part i. (Frome, 1936), pp. 17-22.

²³⁷ As described by Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, p. 217.

²³⁸ M. R. James (ed.), *Henry the Sixth: A Reprint of John Blacman’s Memoir* (Cambridge, 1919), p. 28.

highlight the context of the tomb within the Garter chapel. In addition, the spurs are missing from the set of achievements, which may testify to the veracity of this image as they are recorded separately in the 1534 inventory. The appearance of the bearded monarch, dressed in armour, however, diverges from other records emanating from the shrine of Henry VI – the pilgrim tokens – which will be considered below.

The story of the development of the cult of Henry VI at Windsor, the compilation of several manuscripts of miracles, initially in English and later translated into Latin, the canonisation attempts on the part of Henry VII and the ultimate failure of this project have been frequently told, and will not be repeated here.²³⁹ The visual expressions of this cult, however, in particular their relation to Windsor in juxtaposition with the tomb of Edward IV still await further investigation.

Certain classes of evidence may have contributed to the quick establishment of this cult at Windsor. It has been persuasively argued that Blacman's collection of anecdotes about Henry VI's life *Collectarium mansuetudinum et bonorum morum Regis Henry VI*²⁴⁰ may have been compiled at a rather earlier date than previously thought. If written to accompany the translation, it may have provided an important stimulus to the development of the cult.²⁴¹ The Carthusian monk John Blacman, formerly a scholar of Eton and Merton Colleges who appears to have maintained close contact with Henry VI, is the most likely author of the short work which stresses the saintly conduct of Henry VI during his life. On several occasions throughout the account, he recalls personal conversations with the former king, noting how Henry VI often complained to him "that he was interrupted when he was at prayer" for example.²⁴² His memoir also deals with the visual legacy of Henry VI. Concerned throughout to stress the king's humility, he deals with matters such as Henry's appearance:

"It is well known that from his youth up he always wore round-toed shoes and boots like a farmer's. He also customarily wore a long gown with a rolled hood like a townsman, and a full coat reaching below his knees, with shoes, boots and foot-gear wholly black, rejecting expressly all

²³⁹ Grosjean, *Henrici VI*, contains an account of 166 miracles from a compilation based on the official enquiries of c. 1500. Some of these are translated Knox and Leslie, *Miracles*. Other evidence for the cult has been collected by F. Gasquet, *The Religious Life of King Henry VI* (London, 1923); L. Smith, "The Canonisation of King Henry VI" in *Dublin Review* (1921); McKenna, "Piety and Propaganda"; Webb, *Medieval Pilgrimage*, pp. 174-179. B. Spencer, "King Henry of Windsor and the London Pilgrim" in J. Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clarke (ed.), *Collectanea Londoniensia: Studies in London Archaeology and History Presented to Ralph Merrifield* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Papers No. 2, 1978), pp. 235-264 has examined the visual evidence for the cult.

²⁴⁰ James, *Henry the Sixth*.

²⁴¹ R. Lovatt, "A Collector of Apocryphal Anecdotes: John Blacman Revisited" in T. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later English History* (Gloucester 1984), pp. 173-187.

²⁴² James, *Henry the Sixth*, p. 37.

curious fashions of clothing. Also at the principal feasts of the year, but especially when of custom he wore his crown, he would always have put on his bare body a rough hair shirt, that by its roughness his body might be restrained from excess, or more truly that all pride and vainglory, such as is apt to be engendered by pomp, might be repressed".²⁴³

In 1471, Henry VI was paraded through the streets of London in order to attract support for his cause, but the policy failed because he made such a pathetic figure being dowdily dressed.²⁴⁴ The author of the *Great Chronicle* recorded the occasion describing how Henry "was shewid in a long blew goun of velvet as thowth he hadd noo moo to chaunge with", confirming that the visual perception of the magnificence of kingship was as important in the eyes of contemporaries as the actual title to that power.²⁴⁵ This sober image of Henry VI formed an important constituent of his posthumous legacy. In visions experienced by beneficiaries of his miracles, a man saved from near death while drifting on the sea in a small boat recounted him appearing

"in visible form, elegantly built, and a pilgrim by his dress – he seemed to have a gown of blue velvet and had a yellow cap on his head and a pilgrim's scrip slung at his side...And the man, looking at him (for he had a rough black beard on him, as if it had been fifteen days uncared for) recognized him by his features as that blessed and glorious champion of Christ, King Henry, that was come to his aid".²⁴⁶

This miracle occurred "just at the time when the body of the blessed man had been lately brought to Windsor; at which time especially he began to be famous for his miracles".²⁴⁷

Unlike the beneficiary of the earlier miracle cited, this individual sent "the image of his own likeness in wax to Windsor...and at last he came himself on the Nativity of the blessed Mary Ever-virgin, to the tomb of the holy man," possibly indicating a greater ease of access afforded by translation of the shrine to Windsor.²⁴⁸

This image of Henry VI, however, mutated quickly. The criminal who received a vision of Henry VI on St Matthew's Eve in 1484 no longer described a pilgrim in a blue gown, but indicated he was "dressed royally, a coat as of blue velvet upon him".²⁴⁹ On the 7th February, 1486, Alice Newnett recovered from the plague after receiving a vision of King

²⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁴⁴ Lovatt, "A Collector of Apocryphal Anecdotes", p. 186.

²⁴⁵ *Great Chronicle*, p. 207.

²⁴⁶ Knox and Leslie, *Miracles*, pp. 79-80.

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 149.

Henry “dressed in dark silk and with a gold crown”.²⁵⁰ The pertinent visual features of the former king thus changed from those which stressed his humility, to those in which a growing emphasis was laid on his regality.

Blacman’s account tells of a king who was able to manage the trappings of kingship within a pious context. Even when “decked with the kingly ornaments and crowned with the royal diadem he made it a duty to bow before the Lord as deep in prayer as any young monk might have done”.²⁵¹ Another seed of the future cult of Henry VI is found in Blacman’s comment that “many times he would let his royal hat drop to the ground even from his horse’s back unless it were quickly caught by his servants” – possibly the same hat that was kept as a relic at Windsor.²⁵² Thus the scope for a bi-partite image of humble individual on the one hand, and royal king on the other, found expression early in the history of the officially authorised cult. It is likely that the translation of the shrine to the Royal Chapel of St George had a role to play in elevating the expression of regal imagery as a key element of Henry VI’s iconography. In this respect, one early miracle, in which King Henry rather than the reigning monarch, Richard III, was turned to to effect a cure for scrofula, testifies to the centrality of Henry’s role as a king, anointed by God, to the effectiveness of his intercession.²⁵³

His recorded miraculous activity was concentrated into two principal periods, 1484-90 and 1498-9. These periods coincide with official attempts to manipulate the cult, the first reflecting the stimulus to popularity caused by the translation itself (and no doubt the rumours of the incorrupt state of Henry’s body) and the second reflecting Henry VII’s concerted efforts to achieve the canonisation of Henry VI. During these periods, pilgrims came in large numbers to the tomb of Henry VI to pray, request cures, leave *ex votos* and take souvenirs of their journey home. One such souvenir may have been the high quality woodcut now surviving pasted on a flyleaf of MS Bodley 277, in which several beneficiaries of Henry’s miracle working abilities are shown kneeling before the king. **III. 140** This woodcut is a likely testimony to the earliest period of popularity of Henry VI’s cult at Windsor. The miracles to which the *ex votos* featured in the woodcut refer, which tally with the manuscript records, cannot be reliably dated.²⁵⁴ Such is the case of Helen Barker, (probably the woman kneeling on the right hand side), who recovered after she had cut her throat when “driven to madness by extreme melancholy” but “repenting suddenly from supernatural motives, asked

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 180.

²⁵¹ James, *Henry the Sixth*, p. 26.

²⁵² *ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁵³ Knox and Leslie, *Miracles*, p. 124-125.

²⁵⁴ The recorded miracles were based on an earlier English text which was kept by his tomb at Windsor. The miracles transcribed in surviving Latin copies of this manuscript do not run in chronological order.

for King Henry's prayers".²⁵⁵ On the basis of the miracles depicted therefore, it is not possible to fix a date for the creation of this image.

The high quality of this woodcut has frequently been commented on.²⁵⁶ It is noticeably finer in detail than other English fifteenth-century woodcuts, such as that depicting the Last Judgement from the Bridgetine convent of Syon at Isleworth.²⁵⁷ **III. 141** In the Windsor woodcut, the illusion of depth is skilfully achieved and the characters are uniquely individualised, with typically "English" faces. The *ex voto* testaments to the efficacy of Henry VI as a miracle working protagonist are prominently displayed, hanging on a cross-beam or resting on a shelf, "presented" to the viewer and the ferocious-looking antelope, the personal badge of Henry VI, frames the foreground of the image. The quality of this woodcut suggests an artist of some distinction, and it is not unreasonable to consider this image may have been a result of collaboration between a patron with means and an artist known to the court. It may well have been the result of a royal commission. It is known, for example, that Elizabeth of York paid two individuals to make a pilgrimage to the shrine on her behalf in 1502.²⁵⁸ The dress of the women, in particular the "butterfly" headdress worn by a woman on the right of the image, suggest a date slightly earlier than the 1490s date cited by Dodgson, and since adhered to by subsequent commentators.²⁵⁹ The translation of Henry, or the boost his cult received after Henry VII acceded to the throne, may have provided an excuse for the creation of the image.

The image confirms the growing centrality of regal iconography to the visual manifestations of the cult of Henry VI. Lost lettering at the top of the woodcut probably read "Henricus" – now only the "cu" survive – and remaining letters at the bottom are probably all that is left of the motto "[Dieu et] mon d[roi]t".²⁶⁰ Henry VI stands central and larger than life – a supernatural embodiment of his cult rather than a representation of an existing image. He holds the orb and sceptre of power, and wears ermine-lined robes of state. The royal coat of arms and the antelope device, which feature on the sketch showing his tomb, **III. 139** also figure prominently on this image. Pilgrims showing evidence of the particular misfortune which has brought them to the feet of Henry VI are shown kneeling, in the act of devotion to

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 163. See also E. Ettlinger, "Some Notes on a Woodcut Depicting Henry VI Being Invoked as a Saint" in *Folklore* 84 (1973).

²⁵⁶ C. Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts of the Late Fifteenth Century" in *The Walpole Society* 17 (1929), p. 107.

²⁵⁷ This insert into Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawl. D. 403 is described in *ibid.* p. 96. The manuscript dates from c. 1500.

²⁵⁸ N. H. Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York* (London, 1830), p. 3.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts", p. 107; Spencer "King Henry of Windsor", p. 241 and for costume, Scott, *English Costume*, p. 115.

²⁶⁰ Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts", p. 104.

the saintly king. The *ex votos* recorded on either side of the monarch provide a reminder of the already proven efficacy of the cult to the late medieval pilgrim. This image is thus a commemoration of miracles already experienced, a stimulation to the onlooker to inspire continuing devotion, and a memento to the individual devotee of a prior visit to the shrine.

MS Bodley 277 is a fifteenth-century English bible in Wycliffe's later version, handwritten on parchment in the first half of the fifteenth century, said to have belonged to Henry VI.²⁶¹ It is a large, beautifully produced, expensive manuscript, the pages measuring 43.2 x 29.2 cm, containing 378 leaves written in double columns and divided into paragraphs by marginal letters. There are no illuminations, but each book begins with a decorated page of foliate ornamentation with the occasional grotesque. Later liturgical notes have been added in a sixteenth-century hand. The woodcut appears pasted on f. 376. On the page before, after an erased inscription, is written "Hic liber erat quondam Henri sexti, qui postea donabatur domui cartusiensium quae London contigua est". On f. 14, in a later sixteenth-century hand, the name "Henry VIth" underscored in red, is written in the margin. The adjacent text is from Genesis 39,i., reading "Therefore Joseph was taken into Egypt where there was a gathering of the pharaohs." This section refers to Joseph being sold as a slave to Potiphar. It is tempting to speculate that the "rags to riches" subplot of the story of Joseph, who ultimately triumphed over the evils inflicted on him as a result of his faith and devotion in God reminded the owner of the plight of King Henry. Perhaps he wrote the name of the king in the margin in a quiet moment of devotion, in the same spirit with which he carefully pasted the woodcut in the back of the manuscript.

The woodcut appears to have been in the manuscript for a long time. Both it and the page to which it is affixed, are eaten through with worm holes, and parts of the image have been vigorously scratched off the parchment beneath – significantly the head – in a likely example of later iconoclastic activity.²⁶² That it was preserved in this way, probably by a wealthy visitor to the shrine at Windsor who later owned the manuscript, indicates the potency of this kind of visual souvenir as an aid to subsequent devotion. It also suggests that devotion to Henry was not confined to the lower social orders. This is a perhaps a more reliable testament to the range of audiences for whom Henry VI appealed than the well-studied attempt of Henry VII to secure papal recognition for the cult so he could be buried at Windsor in proximity to the bones of a saintly predecessor. Free from the link with Tudor dynastic

²⁶¹ O. Pächt and J.J.G Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: Volume 3, British, Irish and Icelandic Schools* (Oxford, 1973), p. 77.

²⁶² Sometimes localised wear to an image may have occurred from devotional practices such as kissing or touching the image, but in this example, the damage appears too brutal to be consistent with such activities.

propaganda which may have motivated Henry VII's devotion, this image testifies to the genuine appeal of Henry VI as an answer to prayerful needs which reached the highest levels of society.

Mementos to Henry VI exist in other manuscripts in which the process of devotion is sometimes recorded, one author beginning a poem "As far as hope will yn lengthe/ On the Kyng Henry I fix my mynde."²⁶³ A Latin prayer records the miracles realised through intense devotional focus on Henry VI:

"Through him the blind receive their sight,
The lame and crooked stand upright,
And wounded men gain rest.
The sick and feeble are restored;
While into exile far abroad
He drives the fever's pest".²⁶⁴

The images reported by the author of this poem tally with the miracles testified to by the *ex votos* found at Henry VI's tomb in the woodcut, and enshrined in the manuscript compilations. Later lines in the poem comment on Henry's role as a "soldier in the rightful cause" and "O thou of France and England King" possibly taking inspiration from the way the tomb may have appeared according to the British Library sketch.

In another English poem inserted on the fly-leaf of a Primer of 1408, the image of the regal, crowned king forms the central visual tenet of the narrative:

"O crownyd kyng with sceptur in hand
Most nobyll conqueror I may thee call
For thou has conquest I undyrstand
A hevynly kyngdome most imperyall
Hwar joye haboundeth and grace perpetuell
In presens of the holy Trenite
Off wych grace thou make me parcyall
Now swet kyng Henre praye for me."²⁶⁵

This author textualises the direct sentimental link between King Henry and Christ, anchoring another of the seeds of his cult, alluded to in the monograph by Blacman – that of Henry's

²⁶³ These prayers were found translated on an ancient parchment Bede roll belonging to the Trevelyan Family. They are published in W. C. Trevelyan and C. E. Trevelyan, *Trevelyan Papers* (Camden Society, Old Ser., 1872), part i., p. 59.

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, translated p. 57.

²⁶⁵ Ireland, St Cuthbert's College Library, Ushaw MS 10 ff.1-2. N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries Volume 4: Paisley to York*, (Oxford, 1992), pp. 516-519. Reprinted in James, *Henry the Sixth*, p. 50.

saintly devotion while living to the Cross and “other symbols and holy things of the Christian Religion”.²⁶⁶ Describing Henry’s “pitifulness and patience” Blacman commented

“For whereas God’s right hand had raised him to so glorious a place [Christ] These [murderous ones] as had been said, conspiring together with savage rage, deprived even this most merciful prince of royal power, and drove him from his realm and governance; and after a long time...he was found and taken, brought as a traitor and criminal to London, and imprisoned in the Tower there; where, like a true follower of Christ, he patiently endured hunger, thirst, mockings, derisions, abuse and many other hardships and finally suffered a violent death of body that others might...possess the kingdom. But [he], as we piously believe upon the evidence of the long series of miracles done in the place where his body is buried, liveth with God in the heavenly places...”²⁶⁷

The theme of triumph over adversity, echoing the motivation for the possible identification with the Old Testament story of Joseph, is one which made Henry a suitable candidate for comparisons to Christ himself.

Blacman’s description also evokes an image commemorated in a pilgrim badge showing Henry levitating above the Tower of London. **III. 142f** Wearing an open crown and carrying orb and sceptre, he rises above the battlements of the Tower.²⁶⁸ The twin corner-towers are topped by cupolas and the White Tower is depicted with a central, recessed doorway approached by a stair or drawbridge. The dagger with which Henry was stabbed in the Tower, and the sheets in which his body was wrapped, later acquired relic value.²⁶⁹ This badge recalls his imprisonment and death in the Tower, harnessing the sentiment which gave such relics of Henry’s life their appeal. It may also have been appreciated by pilgrims for whom the accurate topographical representation visually anchored Henry’s link between the spatial realms of earthly and divine.

The output of pilgrim badges relating to King Henry was prolific towards the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It has been suggested that devotion to Henry came to challenge the most popular English shrine traditionally – that of St Thomas Becket at

²⁶⁶ James, *Henry the Sixth*, p. 28.

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 41.

²⁶⁸ Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, p. 191.

²⁶⁹ The dagger was kept as a relic in the bridge chapel at Caversham and the sheets were later presented by William Hastings to Windsor.

Canterbury.²⁷⁰ Pilgrim badges functioned as a souvenir of a pilgrimage which could be purchased at the shrine, and became an essential feature of pilgrims' appearance. The imagery on a badge was special to a particular place and successful shrines often produced more than one type of souvenir. The badges were usually worn on headwear and were frequently fitted with clasps and pins, or rings through which they could be stitched to clothing. Wearing a badge accorded the pilgrim actual, and believed spiritual, protection. The badge publicised the pilgrimage as a personal achievement and so helped to raise the bearer's prestige in the local community. As recognisable passports, they may have helped to distinguish genuine pilgrims from villains, and they may also have provided evidence to an employer or spouse that the time taken to go on pilgrimage had not been wasted. Their popularity, however, lay chiefly in the spiritual protection they were believed to afford the bearer. The knowledge that they had been pressed either by the owner or by the shrine keeper against the relics, shrine or image that they were intended to commemorate, and had therefore absorbed some of the shrine's virtue, transferred the badge from souvenir to touch-relic. This provides an insight into the nature of activity at the shrine of Henry VI. Whereas the woodcut depicts pilgrims in the act of praying to King Henry – devoted, but physically separate from the object of worship – the prevalence of surviving badges suggests a much greater degree of interaction with the shrine itself.

The surviving badges fall into different iconographical categories. Chief among their differences is the kind of crown King Henry is shown to be wearing and the prevalence of the royal insignia. It is difficult to date the badges, but it is possible that this records an essential difference between earlier and later badges emanating from the cult. Those in which he is shown wearing an open crown, frequently with the cross inserts recorded by Blacman, may be some of the earliest examples. Among these are several circular badges. In one example, the gold noble coin of Henry VI's reign is used as a model for pewter badges. **Ill. 142g** In this, the king is shown bearing the royal arms of England and France, peering out from the top of a ship. The Lombardic lettering around the edge reads "HENRICUS DEI GRAS REX ANG", a shortened version of the legend on the noble. It is possible that this early iconography remained popular throughout the sixteenth century and formed the basis for later badges in which the legend is replaced by "KING : HENRY : OF : WINDESOR" in Roman lettering, suggested by Brian Spencer to have been produced in the reign of Henry VIII on the basis of the epigraphy on the coinage of his reign.²⁷¹ The focus on Henry by name is stressed in a badge consisting solely of the HR of Henricus Rex surmounted by an open crown. **Ill. 142b**

²⁷⁰ Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, p. 189. Eighty to ninety badges relating to Henry VI's cult survive, second only in number to those relating to the Canterbury pilgrimage. These were deposited over three and a half centuries, however, whereas Windsor's accumulated during three to four decades.

²⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 192.

On other badges, the “HR” or the reversed “RH” – probably calling to mind the invocation “Rex Henrice” – sometimes appear on either side of the image of the king against a patterned background.²⁷² In these examples, the textual inscription therefore forms an important symbol of the apparatus of kingship.

Another set of badges stress the royal insignia as visual attributes of Henry VI more clearly. In these, the open crown has been replaced by the closed imperial crown – the standard attribute of emperors – used in the Tudor period, which may suggest a later date. This changing visual trope corresponds with Continental examples, for in representations from the early 1490s Charles VIII of France wears an open crown but from 1497, this is sometimes a similar-looking closed crown suggesting artists supported his intentions to appropriate imperial iconography.²⁷³ Henry VI can have had no reasonable claim on an imperial crown, but this promotion of imperial iconography would have placed him a pedestal above the mere king, Edward IV, and may be linked to the Tudor search for canonisation of the saintly monarch. In the pilgrim badges, many of them in the form of silhouettes and irregular shapes, the orb and sceptre, robes of estate and crown are borne aloft by King Henry. He faces the viewer directly and is frequently accompanied by either his antelope **III. 142d** or the lion of England. **III. 142c** Another badge, showing Henry riding on horseback, in which the imperial crown, orb and sceptre are again prominently displayed, may fit particularly well with the new location as Windsor for his tomb. **III. 142e** The chivalric function of the building as the home of the Order of the Garter, dedicated to St George, may provide an iconographic stimulus for this depiction of Henry. In this image, the king is shown wearing his spurs, which were one of the relics housed at the Windsor tomb.

Unlike pilgrim badges created to commemorate the shrine of John Schorn in the south-east chapel of St George’s, those showing Henry do not generally include the relics with which he was associated. For the pilgrim, this suggests that his power was believed to reside in his status as a king anointed by God, rather than in his association with any particular miracle. Badges showing John Schorn invariably include the dynamic image of the “devil in the boot” – representing the miracle for which he was revered – although his appeal to pilgrims rested in his wider ability as a general healer, particularly for the ague.²⁷⁴ **III. 143 a-e** Some badges may reflect a certain conflation between the two cults. Examples survive which depict Schorn on badges of circular or lozenge-shape, like those used for King Henry

²⁷² These are illustrated by Spencer, “King Henry of Windsor”, p. 252.

²⁷³ R. W. Scheller, “Imperial themes in art and literature of the early French Renaissance: the period of Charles VIII” in *Simiolus* 12 (1981-2), p. 57.

²⁷⁴ Marks “A Late Medieval Pilgrimage Cult”, p. 202.

souvenirs.²⁷⁵ Badges which referred to certain relics associated with Henry VI may have been created – a badge survives showing a hat with a narrow brim, turned up at the front, with lozenge-shaped badges, and a plume emerging from a circular badge, of the fashion appropriate to the 1450s. This may have been a souvenir purchased by those who sought a cure for headaches at King Henry's tomb by placing his hat on their heads.²⁷⁶ The emblem / relic, however, is distinct from the image of King Henry, and only one survives, which seems to confirm that the popular aspects of Henry's imagery were his insignia of kingship rather than relics pertaining to the cult.

The translation of King Henry to Windsor gave an opportunity to promote the royal iconography of his visual legacy – as a former monarch now interred in a royal chapel, it became an increasingly significant visible marker of his cult. However, not only did this act affect the iconography of his cult, but it also altered the established dialogue of visual relationships in the chapel. Henry VI was reinterred on the “popular” axis of the south choir aisle, opposite rather than adjacent to the royal / courtly area around Edward's tomb in the north aisle. His tomb was therefore treated in a different way by those visiting the chapel. Positioned in the second bay of the choir, Henry became the first, and one of the most important stopping points in the pilgrim aisle. If the preponderance of remaining visual signifiers – the woodcut and the badges – is to be used as evidence, then his role as a miracle-worker exercised greater popular appeal than the only indulgenced relic in the building – the Cross Gneth. This was possibly located very close to Henry VI's tomb.²⁷⁷ Further east still was the corner chapel of John Schorn – the Yorkist's officially authorised miracle-working cult intended to lure pilgrims to the building. As another thaumaturgical cult based around veneration of his physical remains and promoted by commemorative pilgrim badges, it was one which functioned in similar way to that of Henry. The accumulation of relics and shrines in this aisle no doubt contributed in large part to the popularity of the cults – each of them would almost certainly have fed into each other. That pilgrims should visit the chapel and experience the conflation of cults of the True Cross and of John Schorn was one of Edward IV's likely intentions. The location of the Cross – in a niche which contains within it a spy hole through to the Schorn chapel – suggests an awareness of the way an abundance of devotional imagery could stimulate the process of pilgrimage. That this should be dominated by the visible regality of Edward IV's usurped predecessor, however, may have altered the visual coherence of the building Edward intended to be a monument to the dynasty of York.

²⁷⁵ Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, p. 194.

²⁷⁶ Spencer, “King Henry of Windsor”, pp. 255-256.

²⁷⁷ See above, p. 18.

Using the Space

The devotional woodcut, the manuscripts of miracle compilations, the badges and a pilgrim box are now all that survives of Henry VI's remains. Evidence of the extent of the cult is found in the geographically wide distribution of between eighty and ninety surviving pilgrim badges, some coming from as far afield as Bristol, Oxford, Salisbury, Ludlow, Lincolnshire and Rouen.²⁷⁸ Other evidence of devotion to Henry survives at sites distant from Windsor. In 1816, an effigy dug up at Alnwick in Northumberland of a king, with purse, rosary and sceptre may have represented Henry VI.²⁷⁹ He was also depicted on rood screens in York, Ripon, Durham and images still survive in Norfolk and Suffolk.²⁸⁰ A portrait from the rood screen at Eye Church depicts an image of Henry VI comparable to the representation of the king in the woodcut.²⁸¹ **III. 144** There is also surviving visual evidence of the Schorn cult authorised by the Yorkists. About seventeen pilgrim badges exist²⁸² and his image is still to be seen on several rood screens including that at Cawston in Norfolk. **III. 145** At Gately (also Norfolk) he appears alongside Henry VI and other saints.²⁸³ A wall painting showing the "saint", dating from the 1480s and taken from a medieval house in Sherborne, is now preserved in the museum there. **III. 146** It shows a figure carrying Schorn's attributes of the boot and the devil, but dressed as a bishop (although he was never ordained). The image may perhaps represent a conflation of Schorn with the man who translated him to Windsor, Richard Beauchamp himself, who as bishop of Salisbury, was also lord of the manor of Sherborne. Finally, a book of hours in which a transcribed devotional hymn to John Schorn appears on the flyleaf, was purchased by the dean and canons of Windsor in 1949.²⁸⁴

The weight of the visual evidence alerts us to the role of Windsor in stimulating the widespread appeal of Schorn and Henry VI as objects of late medieval devotion. Since both were the foci of pilgrimage activity, there is every reason for images of them to range geographically more widely than those commemorating the reign of Edward IV. Devotion to the miracle-working abilities of these individuals permeated late medieval consciousness in a way that the memory of a mere king could not. The evidence for iconography emanating from

²⁷⁸ Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, p. 191.

²⁷⁹ Keyser, *List of Paintings*, p. 5. R. Marks, "Images of Henry VI", p. 114.

²⁸⁰ S. Cotton, "Mediaeval Roodcreens in Norfolk – Their Construction and Painting Dates" in *Norfolk Archaeology* XL (1987), part i., pp. 44-55. See also Marks, "Images of Henry VI", pp. 112-117.

²⁸¹ H. S. Cumming, "On a Portrait of Henry VI in Eye Church, Suffolk" in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXXVI (1880) pp. 423-424.

²⁸² Spencer, "King Henry of Windsor", p. 249.

²⁸³ Keyser, *List of Paintings*, p. 111.

²⁸⁴ M. Bond, "The John Schorn Book of Hours" in *Report of the Friends of the Society of St George* (1949) p. 20.

the tomb of Edward IV is therefore wanting. There is uncertainty as to whether the tomb was ever constructed, little is known about the structure that was in place, and the original location of one of surviving features of the tomb – the iron gates – remains unclear. However, the building, impressed throughout with his *rose-en-soleil* motif, survives as a testament to the vision of Edward IV and remains a shrine to his reign even if subsequent changes in the building may have diverged from his original intentions.

Consideration of the use of space in St George's may help to explore the consequences of Henry VI's later translation to Windsor. That the north and south aisles should be viewed in different ways, by different audiences was a consideration which underlay original plans for the building. The provision of niches, and the chapel of John Schorn in the south aisle indicates that this axis was intended to function as a pilgrimage zone. The deliberate demarcation of individual space in the north aisle with the gated tomb, upper chapel with controlled access, and situation in proximity to the chapter house, indicates a more sombre rationale underlying the use of space. For this area, the audience was more likely to be made up of courtly individuals, canons of the Order of St George, and Knights of the Garter. The early heraldic roof bosses, and the decision of Lord Hastings to locate his chantry two bays to the west of Edward's tomb, reinforce this reading of the division of space within the building. What may have upset the iconographical arrangement intended by Edward IV was not, therefore, the creation of another shrine in the south choir aisle – this merely confirmed his original intentions for the building – but the proliferation of regal imagery which came to be associated with this shrine. Ultimately whether this undermined the intentions Edward had sought to realize in St George's depends on the way the space was used by different audiences.

There is considerable evidence for activity located around the shrine of Henry VI. Devotion to Henry VI may have extended up the social scale, culminating in Henry VII's desire to link his own tomb with that of his revered predecessor.²⁸⁵ However, the bulk of evidence from the miracle compilations associated with the cult deals with popular pilgrimage to the shrine. Visitors to Henry VI seem to have engaged with the shrine in traditional ways. The illustration of Henry VI visiting the shrine of St Edmund shows him crawling towards the tomb, where entry holes allowed physical interaction such as the placing of a hand or foot as close to the venerated bones as possible. **III. 139** Sometimes a hoped-for cure was achieved at the shrine as a result of such activities, maybe after a pilgrim had waited there for several days. Agnes Wren, "crippled and bent [for] two whole years...heard a voice from heaven that

²⁸⁵ See above, p. 98.

bade her go with all speed to the blessed King Henry's tomb and so within three days recovered the strength of her limbs".²⁸⁶ These accounts testify to the power of the physical objects of veneration to stimulate a miracle. Pilgrims visiting the chapel placed Henry's hat on their head in order to cure headaches²⁸⁷ and Foxe records the presence of John Schorn's curative boot at his shrine which appears on subsequent pilgrim badges.²⁸⁸ However, miracles often occurred at a site distant from Windsor, and the subsequent pilgrimage to the shrine was made in order to pray, give thanks, and to leave *ex votos* testifying to the miracle.

There are numerous examples of images, created to commemorate a particular miracle, being taken to the shrine at Windsor. Some of these tally with those shown in the woodcut.²⁸⁹ Offerings ranged from wax votives – effigies,²⁹⁰ or sometimes candles (often measured to the length of the person cured from a particular malady and then rolled up)²⁹¹ – to jewels.²⁹² A memorandum from the shrine of St Cuthbert in Durham describes the rules that governed the display of these images:

"And when they had maid there praier and dyd offer any thing to it, if yt weare either gould, sylver or Jewels streighte way it was hounge on ye shrine. And if yt were any other thing, as unicorne horne, Eliphant tooth or such like thinge, then yt was howng within the fereture at ye end of ye shrine and when they had maid there prayers, the Clarke did let down ye cover thereof and did locke yt at every corner".²⁹³

Jewels at the Windsor shrine of Henry VI are recorded as belonging to the altar suggesting that comparable rules may have operated there.²⁹⁴ The spy hole from the first floor room in the Schorn tower is a way of protecting the shrine and its adornments, perhaps comparable to the clerk locking the shrine at Durham. **III. 21**

Pilgrimage to Windsor seems to have taken place throughout the year, but there is evidence that it was more popular on particular days, suggesting that in this royal chapel, attendance at important events in the liturgical calendar was not just confined to the court. Relics belonging to the chapel were especially venerated on St John the Baptist's Day (24

²⁸⁶ Knox and Leslie, *Miracles*, p. 176.

²⁸⁷ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 284.

²⁸⁸ Sparrow-Simpson, "Master John Schorn: His Effigy in Painted Glass", p. 340.

²⁸⁹ Ettlinger, "Notes on Henry VI", pp. 115-116.

²⁹⁰ Knox and Leslie, *Miracles*, p. 76.

²⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 88.

²⁹² The latter are mentioned in the 1534 inventory which states "There is belonging to Kyng Henrys awter moche ryches and many costly jewels to the image off our Lady there". Bond, *Inventories*, p. 179.

²⁹³ Rev. Canon Fowler (ed.), *Rites of Durham*. Surtees Society Publication CVII (Durham / Edinburgh / London, 1903), p. 94.

²⁹⁴ Bond, *Inventories*, p. 179.

June) as well as on the third Sunday following, which was the feast of relics. The record of miracles notes two beneficiaries of miracles who made a point of visiting the altar near Henry VI's tomb on relic Sundays, Joan Hudd in 1498²⁹⁵ and Richard Woodward in an unspecified year.²⁹⁶ Others attended for the feast of St John the Baptist.²⁹⁷ On these days, many of the chapel's substantial collection of relics would have been washed with wine and then processed through the building.²⁹⁸ The presence of a greater number of venerated objects most likely maximised potential for the occurrence of the miraculous, and heightened belief in the efficacy of the building's shrines.

In the early part of the chapel's history, before the completion of the nave, it is difficult to ascertain where pilgrims may have entered the building. They may have entered through a temporary partition in the west end of the south choir aisle, or they may have entered through the east end door, through which early Garter processions would have entered.²⁹⁹ The painted niche between the east end door and the door to the cloister further north, which may have housed an image of the Virgin, suggests that the pilgrimage route may have run from the south-west, to the north-east corner of the choir aisles. Whether the efficacy of each individual relic located in the south choir aisle was consciously evaluated by the pilgrim is difficult to say. It is more likely that interactive devotion at the shrine of Henry VI would be followed by a prayer to the True Cross, for which an indulgence of forty days pardon had been secured by Bishop Beauchamp, and a visit to the reliquary and boot of Schorn in the south east chapel. The provision of successive stopping points on the pilgrimage route offered many opportunities for individual salvation. Particular devotion to one may have brought the individual to Windsor, and this allegiance, or the experience of relief from suffering at one of the shrines may have determined whether a badge of Henry or Schorn was purchased as a souvenir. The conflation of the two cults, commented on by Brian Spencer, most likely reflects this tendency of late medieval religion to amass the apotropaic.³⁰⁰ At Windsor, devotion to the Virgin at the shrine of Henry VI and possibly at the location "behind the high altar"³⁰¹ further enhanced the appeal of the pilgrimage ritual.

It is impossible to establish whether pilgrims would have had access to the north choir aisle, in order to walk past Edward's tomb, or whether public viewing of the structure would have taken place from the removed vantage point of the north-east corner. It is likely,

²⁹⁵ Knox and Leslie, *Miracles*, p. 201.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 169.

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 209 and p. 210.

²⁹⁸ Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives, XV.56.22.

²⁹⁹ Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, p. 519.

³⁰⁰ Spencer, "King Henry of Windsor", p. 248-249.

³⁰¹ See above, p. 11.

however, that Edward desired that the cadaver plaque intended as his memorial, should have been visible to pilgrims, even if they had to peer through some kind of barrier to experience it. The regal expression of Edward's kingship – his coat of arms which hung above the tomb – would probably have been viewed as an echo of those hanging over the tomb of Henry VI, the pilgrims having visited Henry's tomb first. The awed sobriety with which Edward's coat of arms was intended to be viewed, however, in the low vaulted, darker north aisle, is a completely contrasting use of the visual to that found at Henry VI's tomb. Without the proliferation and clutter of imagery that came to be attached to Henry's tomb, Edward's must have been intended to express a sober symbol of a king as unapproachable dead as he was alive to the ordinary pilgrim. When confronting the image of the cadaver, each individual would have been reminded of the brevity of this life, and the desire for salvation in the next; the image of the skeleton may therefore have been designed to prompt lay-prayers for Edward IV's soul.³⁰² This suggests that the dramatic realisation of the two kings' iconographic legacy diverged. Prayers offered in proximity to Edward IV's tomb were intended to be *for* his soul, whereas those made in the south aisle may have been *to* Henry VI, pleading for his intercession. Those offered by lay pilgrims to Henry VI were stimulated by the growth of regal iconography which stressed his role as a king. The juxtaposition of this popular image of kingship in contrast with the more unapproachable image offered in the north choir aisle may have served to increase Henry VI's appeal.

For the Knights of the Garter, however, the tomb of Edward IV remained a key focus of their use of space within the building. Their use of relics also most likely correlated closely to that which had been intended by Edward IV. The evidence provided by the herald recording Philip of Castile's investiture suggests that even into the reign of Henry VII, when the cult of Henry VI was well-established, the division of ceremonial space within the chapel still adhered to that intended by Edward IV. The north choir aisle remained the axis for courtly ritual.³⁰³ Relics sanctified the occasion, but the remains of an uncanonised English king, popular though they may have been to pilgrims, were not suitable for veneration on the international stage. Instead it was the important True Cross relic which took pride of place in the chapter house, and which was touched in order to solemnize the oaths undertaken by both kings. This act was accompanied by swearing an oath with one hand on a book of the Evangelists, an arrangement which paraphrased the likely niche arrangement in the south aisle, planned by Beauchamp, in which the True Cross and a book may have rested opposite each other.

³⁰² And stimulated in early years by the possibility of obtaining remission of sins for their prayers.

³⁰³ See above, Chapter Three, p. 181.

The evidence from this ceremony suggests that the iconographic anomalies introduced into the building by the translation of Henry VI did not seriously tarnish the legacy of Edward IV. The key location of his tomb within the building, and visual significance afforded to pride-of-place relics intended by Edward IV, ensured that when ceremonies and rituals mattered it was his memory that was on display for all. There was little reason for Edward to be venerated by the general public after his death; his desire to be remembered by the members of one of the most important European Orders of Chivalry was likely to have been much greater. For the all important care of his soul, his will provided for chantry priests whose daily practices would have been audible to all – even to pilgrims visiting the chapel in the south choir aisle.

* * * *

After Henry VI's translation to St George's his shrine achieved greater renown than Edward IV could have envisaged. It was a fame built on recognition of Henry's piety and on his subsequent ability to intercede with the heavenly on the behalf of an afflicted individual. Unlike Henry, Edward IV was not considered by historians of his reign to have a deep personal piety. Commynes, for example, accuses him of having been a lazy king, preoccupied by wine, women, and hunting.³⁰⁴ In contrast to this picture presented by contemporaries, however, Edward IV chose a cadaver image to adorn his tomb which eschewed worldly pomp, asserting to the viewer the brevity of life and the fragility of mortal remains. His actions rather call to mind the piety expressed in a prayer ascribed by John Blacman to be one of Henry VI's:

“Oh Lord Jesu Christ, who didst create me, redeem me, and foreordain me unto that which now I am: Thou knowest what Thou wilt do with me: deal with me according to thy most compassionate will”.³⁰⁵

The contrast between the sombre mood the cadaver of Edward's tomb was intended to provoke, shielded by the extravagant, dignified gilded gates wrought by Tresilian, and the exuberant wax adorned, jewel weighted, busy tomb Henry VI's would come to resemble in the south aisle, could not have been greater. In contrast to Edward's, Henry's well-known piety came to be visually expressed, not through an abnegation of worldly pomp, but through popular promotion of the symbols of kingship.

The likely non-completion of the cadaver intended for Edward's tomb, and the unrealised Westminster Abbey tomb desired by Henry VI, provides examples of how artistic

³⁰⁴ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 307; Commynes, *Life of Louis XI*, p. 118.

³⁰⁵ James, *Henry the Sixth*, p. 24.

legacies could be vulnerable to the dictates of historical circumstance. The posthumous legacy of neither monarch correlated precisely to that which he had intended while alive. In the Chapel of St George's, however, the uneasy relationship existing between these two monarchs found at least some repose in a spatial solution which articulated distinct visual and sensory experiences to different audiences after their deaths.

Looking at how pilgrims interacted with the shrines of Henry VI and John Schorn at Windsor, elucidates another aspect of the chapel's history – its appeal to the ordinary, lay individual, and the willingness of the designers of the foundation, Bishop Beauchamp and Edward IV, to admit these individuals and accommodate their activities. Certainly, it is likely that the offerings of the faithful were a welcome addition to chapel revenues, but their intentions most likely resonated more deeply than this. Posthumous prayers of the faithful – no matter what their social standing – were as desired by kings as they were by others for they were potent tools to speed one's journey through the feared uncertainties of purgatory. Furthermore, the evidence provided by pilgrims alerts us to the vibrancy of daily life in this unique chapel – offsetting the tendency to see the chapel as an ordered, elitist, royal space. It complements the evidence presented in part one of this Chapter, which suggested that daily articulation of the sacred was something that was effected in largely similar ways, whether the space in question was a rural or town church, or a larger, city foundation. In moving between greater and lesser institutions, pilgrims trod similar paths of experience, carrying visual signifiers, oral tales, and new ideas between foundations, spreading the sacred appeal of the Royal Chapel of St George.

CONCLUSION

This study has not sought to provide a coherent narrative of the late medieval history of the two foundations that were the Chapels of St George at Windsor. Instead, the focus has been on exploring the spatial dynamics of the two buildings, in relation to how they were experienced and understood by those who used them. In arguing that in the fifteenth century, we see a real change in people's sensitivity to the visual, particularly when framed by questions of how their understanding of space was developing, chronological progression is obviously important. However, the process of recreating people's experiences of space from the availability of surviving evidence – architectural, pictorial, aural, and narrative – mitigates against the construction of a coherent linear map. As has been shown throughout this work, sensitivity to the visual filtered into different classes of evidence at different rates, depending on a variety of factors. The growing desire to keenly scrutinise visual features of ritual and ceremonial, underlying the records left by heralds and those associated with the English court, provided a contrast to the experience of individuals lower down the social scale, only admitted to a building as prestigious as St George's at Windsor in order to engage with shrines and relics on display in the foundation. The surviving visual artefacts we have from those associated with organising ceremony, and those whose social status encouraged them to seek out accomplished artists who were treading new visual ground, show evidence of extreme sophistication in understanding and articulating a variety of concepts of sacred space. It was the experiences of these individuals which brought sensitivity to the visual, the ceremonial, and matters of propriety, both secular and spiritual, that were of critical importance in determining why Edward IV's new foundation looked and functioned the way that it did. In contrast, those lower down the social scale desired admission to the foundation in order to engage with the spiritual, and the regal. But the precise routing of their activities around and through the space, meant that during their visit, they lacked the opportunity to appreciate the chapel in its widest, most prestigious contexts.

Unlike work that has been undertaken before, whereby Edward IV's chapel has been studied as a series of architectural constructs and iconographical anomalies, this thesis has suggested that in order to fully appreciate its final appearance, we should take a more holistic, all encompassing approach. I have therefore deemed it appropriate to consider the chapel by mapping experiences of space as understood by distinct audiences. This approach recognises the strong desire individuals felt to appropriate as much "sacred space" as their financial and social position would allow. For those who could not afford a chantry chapel, or a luxury

book of hours, a simple pilgrim token, efficacious because it inherited the sanctity of the chapel, and offered its bearer continued protection beyond his visit there, indicates that the desire for proximity to the sacred penetrated throughout the social classes of late medieval England. This thesis therefore argues that we should understand sacred, architectural space in terms of its relationship to other pictorial sources patronised by these audiences. In looking at images such as the Donne Triptych, Bedford Hours and the Stamford windows, and relating these to the use of space in this English foundation, we come much closer to appreciating the sophisticated understanding that informed late medieval individuals' experience of sacred space. The sources for visual were many – Flemish manuscript illuminations and panel paintings, French funeral ceremonies, Angevin tomb iconography, Burgundian order of chivalry rituals, English parish churches, communities and activities – artistic sources were fluid and easily transmitted between county and court, court and country, by the heralds, diplomats and royal individuals whose activities we have considered here. Lessons learned in these many contexts directly informed activities taking place in one of grandest foundations of the day. Furthermore, looking at the “experience” of space shows that temporary visual forms such as costume and floral adornment, and the different aural provisions made for daily liturgical activity and special ceremonial were as important as precise architectural divisions in binding individuals into a relationship with the foundation. This relationship was therefore multi-sensual, ever-changing, and more highly charged at particular times of the year than it was at others.

In looking at this important and unique royal foundation, the permanent home of a European Order of Chivalry, and by centralising the desirability of membership of this institution, we gain a further insight into the reason why St George's at Windsor above and beyond other foundations, makes a particularly appropriate case study in which to explore the relationship between individuals, the visual in its widest sense, and the sacred. Because of its association with king and Garter, there is simply more surviving evidence enabling us to address these questions. By looking at two of the most comprehensively organised ceremonies that took place early in the life of the new foundation, Edward IV's funeral and the investiture of Philip of Castile, we come to appreciate how the experience of ritual was closely tied to ordinary devotional activity; we see echoes of daily practice in the recitation of masses in the choir, a similar relationship being forged between individuals, relics and liturgical books, and extensions to the boundaries claimed as sacred space by the chapel, that moved with the demands of the liturgical year. Yet the scale of provision and the quality of ephemera – the lavish costumes, the polyphony – set these occasions apart from the daily. The grandeur allied the courts of late medieval English kings closely to their European

counterparts, but within the foundation of Windsor, courtly ritual was presented and articulated in a uniquely English space.

This work has suggested that the competitive instinct underlying the desire to assert oneself at the heart of the parish church, frequently commented on by historians of the parish,¹ was closely related to that taking place at more prestigious foundations. Consideration of the structuring of space in St George's confirms that to kings and nobles, the most efficacious observers were those with wealth and status. But at a time when posthumous prayers could speed a soul through purgatory, the prayers of those lower down the social scale were important too. This understanding was worked into the structure of the new chapel from its conception.

In beginning with Edward IV's desire to construct an entirely new, and modern building, this study exposed the shortcomings of its predecessor as a space well suited to stage complex ceremonial and liturgical rituals. It therefore took as its starting point the assumption that Edward IV's foundation was carefully planned from the outset by reference both to the earlier foundation, and other foundations at home and abroad, in order to accommodate Edward IV's sophisticated understanding of the many demands that would be placed on the space of the chapel. Changes made to the Order of the Garter under Edward IV and the early Tudor kings confirm the long-observed tendency for secular concerns to creep into sacred space.² Kings sought ever-grander structures for their chantries, and courtiers jostled for places alongside, hoping to accrue splendour by association; seeing and being seen mattered as Tudor courtiers and kings sought self-aggrandisement on ever-greater scales. That Edward IV's model was a successfully constructed sacred space becomes apparent as the study progresses. Clearly it had been sufficiently well thought out to accommodate complex Garter, courtly, liturgical and pilgrimage activities, while also continually asserting his commanding presence as the patron underlying the foundation. Thus in the face of subsequent appropriation of space in St George's by Tudor courtiers, former "saintly" kings, and a barrage of lay pilgrims, Edward IV's legacy remained pertinent to those who mattered then, as it does today.

¹ B. Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c.1400-1560* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, Aldershot, 1996); Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

² Martindale, "Intrusion".

APPENDIX ONE

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF LORD WILLIAM HASTINGS AND SIR JOHN DONNE

HASTINGS, Lord William

The son of Sir Leonard Hastings of Kirby Muxloe in Leicestershire, William Hastings supported Edward of York at the Battle of Towton on 29 March 1461, and was the first of Edward's companions to be knighted on the battlefield.¹ In the summer of that year he was raised to the peerage and the following March was named a Knight of the Garter.² He was granted large estates, including Ashby de la Zouche, from lands forfeited by Lancastrian supporters. He was appointed chamberlain of the royal household, master and worker of the king's mints, receiver general of the Duchy of Cornwall and chamberlain of North Wales, each appointment assuring him of considerable material profits. In the summer of 1461, he married Katherine Neville, Edward's first cousin on her mother's side. He had close contacts with the continent throughout his period of service to Edward IV: in 1465, he was on an embassy to Burgundy when Elizabeth Woodville was crowned and he was subsequently present at the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold in 1468. He later accompanied Edward into exile in 1470-71. In 1471, he was appointed Lieutenant of Calais,³ and from 1473, he was a tutor and councillor to the future Edward V. Between 1472 and 1474, he went back and forth to Burgundy to treat with Charles the Bold⁴ and in 1475, was present with the king in France to conclude the Treaty of Picquigny.⁵ There is abundant evidence as to his closeness to Edward IV during his reign. In 1462, the Pastons believed him to be in greatest influence with the king – an opinion which was repeated in 1470 by Commynes. His relationship with the king was clearly appreciated by foreign rulers too: he was one of the members of Edward IV's retinue whom Louis XI thought it advisable to have in his pay in 1475, with a pension of 2000 crowns. This was additional to the pension of 1000 crowns he was already receiving from Charles of Burgundy.

DONNE, Sir John

Son of John Donne of Kidwelly, he made his reputation in the service of Richard, duke of York in England, France and Ireland, and was made an usher of chamber when Edward became king in 1461.⁶ He quickly accumulated lands and offices in England as well as Wales, being rewarded in 1462 for his "good service to the king's father" with the castle, town, manor and ship of Telagharn in South Wales, the Marches possessions of the late earl of Wiltshire, and the manors of Russheton, Stanewige, Ryngestede, Great Brampton and Great Houghton in the county of Northampton.⁷ Sometime around 1465, he married Hastings' sister, Elizabeth, cementing a friendship and allegiance with the noble Hastings which was to develop over the subsequent decades. He was also made an esquire of the body at this time and was subsequently knighted for his services on the battlefield at Tewkesbury in 1471. John Donne held office in Calais in 1468, attended the marriage of Margaret of York later in

¹ For details of Hastings' career see Ross, *Edward IV*, Backhouse, *Hastings Hours*, and the *DNB*.

² His election is not recorded in Anstis, *Register*.

³ This position was initially for 8 years. It was extended in 1479 for another ten years, but Hastings was executed in 1483. G. A. C. Sandeman, *Calais Under English Rule*, (Oxford, 1908), p. 19.

⁴ National Archives, C/47/30/10/14, E/30/1073/11, E/30/1073/14.

⁵ National Archives, E/30/1073/16.

⁶ For Donne, see Mcfarlane, *Memling*, Campbell, "The Donne Triptych" and the *DNB*.

⁷ *CPR Edward IV*, 1461-1477, p. 111.

that year, and was involved in negotiations concerning the Pale of Calais in 1472. He was again at Calais in 1475 and visited France and Flanders in 1477. He was probably present when Edward IV was visited at Calais by Margaret of York; he was also at Syon when Margaret of York visited in 1480. In 1481, he purchased the estates in Buckinghamshire he came to use as his principal residence. After the death of Edward IV in 1483, he retained some of his lands and titles under Richard III and under Henry VII, was made lieutenant of the castle of Calais sometime before 1497. He made his will on 23 January 1503 and died in February of that year.

APPENDIX TWO

THE GHENT-BRUGES SCHOOL OF MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION

The 1470s and 80s were a period of stylistic change in Netherlandish illumination, and the artists favoured by Sir John Donne and Lord William Hastings took a leading role in developing and popularising new forms and patterns. Characteristic was the emergence of a new type of border illumination that depicted acanthus and other brightly coloured flowers that cast shadows against a dark background. This pattern emerged in manuscripts such as the *Voustre Demeure Hours* (c.1475-80), possibly completed by Simon Marmion, the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook and Lieven van Lathem,¹ and the *Hours of Charlotte of Bourbon Montpensier*, c.1474-77. Several artists associated with the new style of Flemish manuscript illumination enjoyed Charles the Bold's patronage, including Marmion, the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, and other high-ranking courtiers were among the first to commission manuscripts in the new style. In 1469, Charles had paid his late father's court painter, Lieven van Lathem, for illumination of a small, but highly inventive prayerbook, now in the Getty Museum (MS.37).² In the same year, Simon Marmion of Valenciennes, who after 1467 turned from panel painting entirely to book illumination, completed a breviary for the ducal chapel, with ninety-five miniatures (Private Collection).³

Marmion began his career in Amiens, before moving to Valenciennes c.1458.⁴ He may therefore have known the Amiens bookseller, Gautier Deschamps, who was probably employed by the Burgundian court to facilitate the transfer of partially completed books.⁵ Marmion's hand appears in many books with otherwise unconnected miniatures and a diversity of miniature styles, suggesting he may have acted as a specialist who was sent works to paint. Marmion was also the leading hand in the project to complete the *Visions of Tondal*, 1475, (Getty Museum MS.30) for Margaret of York, in which close observation is needed to appreciate the fantastic variety of faces and body shapes distinguished from the gloomy vacuum by the subtle use of gold and colours.

The Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy was younger than Marmion, but his career followed a parallel path, and he collaborated with Marmion and van Lathem on a number of books including the *Vienna Hours of Mary of Burgundy* c.1470-75 (Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS.1857). He takes his name from masterpieces in this manuscript, including *Mary of Burgundy Reading Her Devotions* and *The Crucifixion*, which feature a complex spatial configuration, where the central devotional scene is viewed through a window from a niche that is itself part of the miniature.

¹ T. Kren and S. McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, (Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue, 2003), p. 142-6. This book was probably made for an individual attached to the Burgundian court, associated with the motto "Voustre-Demeure" and was later given as a gift to Charles and Margaret, at which point their initials were inserted into the scene showing the Mass of the Dead. It may therefore have been produced prior to Charles' death in 1477.

² Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating*, p. 121

³ *ibid.*

⁴ For details of Marmion's career see M. Hénault, "Les Marmion" *Revue Archéologie* (1907) Vol. i, p. 119-140 and p. 410 - 424 and Vol. ii, p. 108 - 124.

⁵ S. Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens* (London, 1999), p. 242.

The Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, who appears to have been active in Bruges by the late 1460s,⁶ completed the miniatures in the recently discovered book of hours made for Charlotte of Bourbon-Montpensier, wife of the prominent Burgundian courtier, Wolfart van Borssele. (Alnwick Castle, MS.482). He excelled in the depictions of atmospheric landscapes, without figures. In addition, this book of hours shows the earliest datable examples of many of the new Flemish border types that would enjoy currency for the next seventy years, for which this master may have been responsible (and thus for the emergence of this new design *c.*1474-7,⁷ although he did not use them consistently until the 1480s.) From the outset, this style proved popular with artists associated with Ghent, such as the Master of the Prayerbook of Maximilian, who was less gifted than these artists, but more productive. His work depended on a large body of patterns that originated during the 1470s with the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, his workshop, and Simon Marmion. Although his figures are beautifully and brightly coloured, and his scenes have handsome landscape settings, they lack atmospheric effects and his figures, the subtleties of psychological expression.⁸

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 207.

⁷ This hypothesis is explored further in *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 191.

APPENDIX THREE

BOOKS IN ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL

Type of Book	1384 Inventory	1410 Inventory	1501 Inventory
Antiphoner	Five, three with psalters.	y	Only one book mentioned. See below.
Breviary	One good noted.	y	
	Seven others with notes.	Six others noted (one given to the church of Southampton).	
	One great, noted, with missing silver clasp.	y	
	One noted in front of Sir Edmund Clovyll.	y	
	One called Skot.	x	
	One beside a psalter.	x	
		One given by Johannis Messyngham.	
Legenda	One, with sanctorum and temporal.	y	
	Book of lessons and masses of the Virgin, the gift of the bishop of Exeter.	y	
Psalter	One simple.	y	
	Psalter with Glosses.		
		One with hymns given by Messyngham.	
Missals	One the gift of Prince Edward.	y	
	One the gift of Lord Clare.	y	
	One the gift of Sir Thomas, earl of Nottingham.	y	
	Five others.	Four others.	
	One from the duke of Norfolk.	y	
Graduals	Six.	y	
	Two old.	x	
		One gradual given by Raundes.	
		One gradual Botiler.	
Epistles	One with silvered cover.	y	
	One old of little value.	x	
Processional	Six / Eleven processional defective in writing.	Ten processional	
Ordinal	One given by King Edward.	y	
	One called Welwyk.	y	
		One ordinale Botiler.	
Gospels	A text of the Gospel with silver covers.	y	
			A book of the gospels, with red velvet and silver gilt cover, with figures of Christ, the

			Evangelists and St George.
	A text of the Gospel (old).	x	
	Book of Gospels, newly bound.	x	
Collects	Book of collects given by Sir Stephen Branketre.	y	
	One collect book in two volumes.	y	
	Book of collations for Lent (with instructions for usage).	y	
Manual	The gift of Thomas de Aston.	y	
"Books"	One of versicles of the Graduales and Alleluias.	y	
	One of versicles of the Graduales and Alleluias kept in pulpitem.	y	
Misc.	One roll of music given by Aleyn.	y	
	Two quires for Corpus Christi and the other of St Anne.	Two quires for the services of St Anne and five for St Edward.	
Books chained in the church.	One Catholicon.	y	
	One Hugutio.	y	
	Bartholomew on Properties.	y	
	The Aurora.	y	
	The Golden Legend.	y	
	The Gregorian Dialogue.	y	
	The Ecclesiastical History.	y	
	Book of Sentences.	y	
	French books of Romances, including the Book of the Rose.	y	
	One pair of Decrees.	y	
		One Bible.	
		One Summa, bequeathed by Melton.	
Books in the Presses	One volume.	y	
	New Digest.	y	
	Old Digest.	y	
	Infortiatum.	y	
	Decrees.	y	
	Decretals.	y	
	Sixth book of decretals.	y	
	Summa of Hostiensis.	y	
	First part of the Hostiensis.	y	
	Second part of the Hostiensis.	y	
	Apparatus of Pope Innocent.	y	
	Rosary.	y	
	Speculum Judiciale.	y	
	Commentaries of Paul and on Clement.	y	
	Commentaries of John Andrew.	y	
	Lectures of the Archdeacon and of Paul.	y	
	Repertory of William Duraunt.	y	
	Summa of Godfrey.	y	
	Table of civil and canon law.	y	
	Index of Martin's work.	y	

	Bible.	y	
	Concordance.	y	

1. The initials "y" denotes that the same entry appears in the 1410 entry. The initial "x" denotes that it does not.
2. Entries in red indicate that books were chained in the church. Entries in green show those that were kept in the presses. The entry in blue relates to a book that was chained in the pulpitum.
3. There are no books mentioned in the 1534 inventory.
4. After 1553 there is evidence that more books were purchased suggesting many may have been damaged or destroyed during the visitations of Henry VIII's reign. No books are mentioned in the visitation records, however.

APPENDIX FOUR

VESTMENTS IN ST GEORGE'S CHAPEL

	1384	1501
Figures	<p>Vestment of red velvet with figures and pearls. Vestment of red cloth of gold with archangels. One orphrey embroidered with life of Thomas of Lancaster. <i>Gold cope with figures and leopards' heads.</i> Gold cope with martyrdoms of saints. Red velvet cope with golden figures. One cope of golden fabric with figures of apostles. Two curtains of red and green velvet with figures under canopies. One cloth of red samite with the Trinity and majesty and four Evangelists.</p>	<p>One red cope of velvet embroidered with niches, figures of saints, with pearls. Three old copes of red velvet with figures of saints in golden niches. Eight vestments of various coloured velvet embroidered with golden figures. One blue silk pall embroidered with golden angels.</p>
Birds	<p>Vestment of blue velvet with gold eagles. Vestment of red cloth of gold with various birds. <i>Vestment of red cloth of gold with stars and eagles.</i> <i>Vestment of red decorated and embroidered with stars and eagles.</i> <i>Three copes of black silk with oxen and cranes.</i> One red cope of cloth of gold with birds in lozenges. <i>One cloth of blue silk striped and powdered with various birds and flowers.</i></p>	<p>Three copes of blue velvet embroidered with golden eagles. <i>Three red copes embroidered with golden leaves and birds.</i> <i>Three red copes with golden leaves and birds.</i> Eight white copes with golden leaves and birds.</p>
Flowers and Trees	<p>Vestment of blue cloth of gold with gold and red flowers. <i>Three copes of black silk with dragons and flowers.</i> One cope of blue satin powdered with golden trees. <i>Two copes of blue velvet with stags under trees.</i> One blue cloth of gold cope with baskets full of flowers. <i>One cloth of blue silk striped and powdered with various birds and flowers.</i> Two chasubles of blue velvet with frontal and counterfrontal with flowers. One red cloth of cloth of gold with golden flowers and green flowers.</p>	<p>Two blue copes with golden and red flowers. <i>Three red copes embroidered with golden leaves and birds.</i> <i>Three red copes with golden leaves and birds.</i> One old cope of velvet embroidered with green trees and stags. Eleven old red copes with golden flowers. One blue cope of satin embroidered with golden flowers. Three copes of purple velvet embroidered with gold and other flowers. One red cope of velvet embroidered with golden branches. Three red copes of velvet with golden roses and ostrich feathers. Three red copes of velvet with great golden flowers. One red cope of velvet embroidered with gold flowers and branches from which grow red and white roses. One red chasuble of silk with branches of velvet and green, white and gold flowers.</p>

		<p>One red cope of velvet embroidered with golden flowers.</p> <p>One blue cope of velvet embroidered with fleurs-de-llys.</p> <p>Six copes of white damask embroidered with lilies (fleurs-de-llys has been crossed out in the inventory).</p> <p>One cope of white damask embroidered with gold, green and red flowers.</p> <p>Three copes of white damask embroidered with red and green flowers.</p> <p>Black chasuble, dalmatic and tunicle embroidered with gold flowers.</p> <p>Blue velvet frontal for high altar embroidered with gold and other coloured flowers.</p> <p>One frontal for high altar of white damask embroidered with red and green flowers.</p> <p>Two frontals of black velvet with white roses for Edward IV's altar.</p> <p>One chasuble of blue velvet with lilies and red roses for Edward IV's altar.</p> <p>Two chasubles of red silk embroidered with golden flowers and flowers of various colours for the altars of All Saints and of the Holy Cross.</p> <p><i>One blue-silk pall embroidered with lions and golden flowers.</i></p> <p><i>One red pall with golden stags and various coloured branches.</i></p> <p><i>Two green palls with conies and various coloured flowers.</i></p>
Stars	<p><i>Vestment of red cloth of gold with stars and eagles.</i></p> <p><i>Vestment of red with decorated and embroidered stars and eagles.</i></p>	
Animals and Insects	<p>Vestment of blue with white dogs.</p> <p><i>Gold cope with figures and leopards' heads.</i></p> <p><i>Three copes of black silk with oxen and cranes.</i></p> <p><i>Two copes of blue velvet with stags under trees.</i></p> <p><i>Two blue cloth of gold copes with dragons and lions fighting.</i></p> <p>One curtain of purple velvet with butterflies.</p> <p>One red cloth of cloth of gold with mantelled lions.</p>	<p>Red cope embroidered with golden stags.</p> <p>One red pall embroidered with golden serpents.</p> <p><i>One red pall with golden stags and various coloured branches.</i></p> <p><i>One old cope of velvet embroidered with green trees and stags.</i></p> <p><i>Two copes of plain blue silk with lions and dragons embracing.</i></p> <p><i>One blue-silk pall embroidered with lions and golden flowers.</i></p> <p><i>Two green palls with conies and various coloured flowers.</i></p> <p>Old daily vestments, some decorated with serpents, for the choristers and outside altars.</p> <p>Two red copes of chasubles of velvet embroidered with the arms of St George.</p>
Devices	<p>Cope of black velvet with Ragged Staves.</p> <p>One curtain of purple velvet with various arms in the four corners.</p>	
Mythical Beasts	<p><i>Three copes of black silk with dragons and flowers.</i></p> <p>Three copes of silk with flying dragons.</p>	

	Three cloth of gold copes with mantelled horses with lions' feet. Two blue cloth of gold copes with dragons and lions fighting. One blue cloth of cloth of gold with mantelled figures riding on griffins. Vestment of purple velvet with decorated bosses	Two copes of plain blue silk with lions and dragons embracing. One cope of blue silk embroidered with arms carrying golden baskets. One pall of black velvet with a cross of white velvet.
Other		

COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS

1. Entries in italics denote that the item appears twice in the list. Thus an item decorated with flowers and figures appears one in the figures section, and once in the flowers section.
2. Entries in bold indicate that the item in the 1501 appears to match an item in the 1384 inventory. However, often what was a full set of vestments, in the 1383 inventory is, by 1501, a single cope or cloth.
3. The 1501 inventory shows a massive increase in the use of flowers and branches as decoration. Furthermore, some of these flowers, including roses, fleurs-de-lys and lilies, are mentioned by name. In one instance, fleurs-de-lys is crossed out and replaced by lilies.

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